

**TOGETHER AT LAST:  
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR  
AND RELIGION:**

**BY SEVEN EUROPEAN  
LABOUR LEADERS**

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*Photo. Emile Vandervelde, by "Central Press."*

*" Father Hopkins, " Barrett, Fleet Street.*

# TOGETHER AT LAST:

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The International Reconciliation of LABOUR AND  
RELIGION: by SEVEN LEADERS in the  
International Labour Movement:

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*Belgium:* EMILE VANDERVELDE  
(President of the International  
Socialist Bureau);

*Norway:* EINAR LI  
(Of the Scandinavian Social  
Democracy);

*France:* JEAN LONGUET  
(Deputy, Grandson of KARL  
MARX);

*The Sea:* FATHER HOPKINS  
(Hon. Sec. International Seamen's  
and Firemen's Union);

*Great Britain:* G. N. BARNES, M.P.  
G. H. ROBERTS, M.P.

*Switzerland:* HANS WIRZ  
(Of the Swiss Social Democracy);

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At the International Labour Week, BROWNING  
HALL, May 1—7, 1915; ending with a many-  
voiced demand on May 16 for THE ABOLITION  
OF WAR at the Third Hague Conference.

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LONDON:

JOSEPH JOHNSON, Holborn Hall, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.

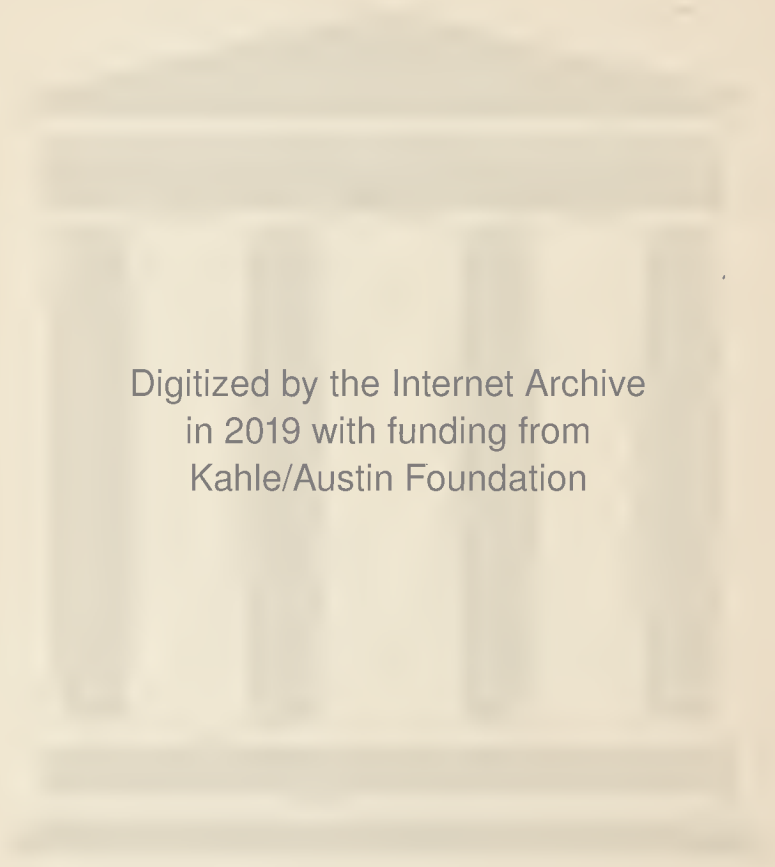
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## The International Labour Week.



CONTINENTAL Socialism, by the lips of its foremost spokesmen, disavows all hostility to spiritual Christianity: nay, welcomes it as an ally. The long feud is practically over.

The new peace will indeed take time to percolate down through all ranks of European labour. But the decisive steps have been taken. Religion is hailed by the International Labour movement as essentially its friend. And the new comrades unite in a demand for the Abolition of War. That is the manifold historic event which glorifies the first week of May in Browning Hall, 1915.

### **Growing Inter- nationalism.**

Five Labour Weeks had been held at Browning Hall in five successive Mays. They had done splendid work, for the neighbourhood, for the nation, for the world. But when the time came to arrange for the Sixth Labour Week, it was felt that a new advance must be made. The international interest in Labour Week had grown more and more manifest. The international connection of the Settlement had become at once wider and closer. And the War, whether we liked it or not, had precipitated the advent of the international era. The confluence of many nations in the ranks of the Allies, and the evident insanity of henceforth attempting to run the world on the principle of "watertight" national compartments, have made the international problem the supreme question of the hour.

Under these circumstances it was decided that the Sixth May series should be an International Labour Week, with addresses given not as formerly by British Labour leaders alone, but also by leading representatives of the Continental Labour Movement. After this decision had been reached, it was amusing to find an infidel print—though admitting that British Labour leaders were mostly religious men—daring the "Browning Hall authorities" to declare the attitude of Labour leaders on the Continent of Europe. The challenge was actually being taken up before it was made.

Like other memorable occurrences, it came almost "without observation." The newspapers took little or

**Unnoticed.** no notice of it. More space was given to a Society scandal, or a gruesome murder, or an insignificant skirmish in Flanders, than to this solemn reconciliation between the

two mighty forces whose estrangement has been the tragedy of recent European history, and whose union gives sure and certain hope of a transformed mankind. Even the audiences which gathered to hear the representatives of five great races proclaim the espousals of the World's Labour and of the World's Religion, though including Belgians and French, were sparse and meagre. But the great deed has been done. The great words have been spoken. The new era has been ushered in.

A new step forward has been taken towards the ideal **World Anthem.** set forth in the Settlement's World Anthem, which, to the tune variously known as "God Save the King," "My Country, 'tis of Thee," and "Heil dir im Siegerkranz," was sung at the commencement of each of the seven meetings:—

God make the World one State!  
 All nations, small and great,  
     One civic whole!  
 Self-ruled each people be!  
 All peoples linked and free!  
 Glorious in unity  
     From pole to pole!  
 One World, one destiny,  
 One Race, one family,  
     One GOD above!  
 All States upheld in one,  
 All laws excelled in one,  
 All lives impelled by One—  
     One Life, One Love!

Scripture was read and prayer offered on Sunday by Father Cooper, of the Wellington College Mission; on Tuesday by Rev. W. J. Conybeare, Rector of St. Mary's, Newington; on Thursday by Rev. J. C. Morris, Vicar of St. John's, Walworth; and on the other evenings by the Warden.





## **Notre Triple Objectif,**

PAR

**EMILE VANDERVELDE.**

Lorsque Mr. Stead me parla de l'organisation de cette semaine internationale il me demanda de lui indiquer le nom d'amis du Continent qui pourraient y prendre la parole. Je me suis spontanément offert, bien que je dusse vous parler dans une langue qui n'était pas la vôtre, parce que je me suis dit que ma présence dans cette assemblée aurait une signification qui n'échapperait à personne.

Cette semaine doit être consacrée à trois grandes choses : L'Internationalisme, le Travail et la Religion : et, ce n'est certainement pas le hasard qui a fait que cette première réunion ait été fixée au 1er mai.

Il y a vingt-cinq ans que pour la première fois dans le monde entier, partout où il y a des travailleurs qui souffrent et qui espèrent, on a célébré le 1er mai, donnant à cette fête, à cette démonstration, une triple signification.

C'est la fête de l'Internationale, parce que dans le monde entier les travailleurs s'unissent dans une même pensée, affirment une même volonté, affirment la même espérance.

C'est la fête du Travail, car ce jour-là, ceux qui ont peine toute l'année se donnent un jour de repos et, en même temps, manifestent en faveur de ce que l'on a appelé des trois-huit : huit heures de travail, huit heures de repos, huit heures de loisir pour la vie esthétique ou intellectuelle.

Et, enfin, j'ose le dire, le 1er mai est une fête religieuse.

## Our Triple Objective,

BY

**EMILE VANDERVELDE.\***

When Mr. Stead spoke to me about organizing this International Week, he asked me to nominate to him friends from the Continent who could deliver an address. I spontaneously offered myself, in spite of having to speak to you in a language which is not yours, because I said to myself that my presence in this assembly would have a significance which would escape no one.

This Week is to be consecrated to three great objects :— Internationalism, Labour and Religion. And it is certainly not chance which has caused this first re-union to be fixed on the 1st of May. The **Three Great Objects.** 1st of May has been celebrated now for twenty-five years throughout the world, wherever there are workers who suffer and who hope. To this festival, to this demonstration, is thus given a threefold significance.

It is the festival of Internationalism because throughout the world workers unite in the same thought, affirm the same purpose, and bear witness to the same hope. It is the festival of Labour, for this is the day when those who suffer all the year give themselves a day of rest, and at the same time demonstrate in favour of what has been called the three eights—eight hours' work, eight hours' rest, eight hours' leisure for the æsthetic or scientific life. And, finally, I will dare to say, the 1st of May is a religious festival.

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\*M. EMILE VANDERVELDE was born at Ixelles-Brussels on January 25th, 1866. He was the son of a magistrate of Ixelles. He studied at the University of Brussels, and was noted there for his interest in the study of social questions. He was already well known when with C. de Pæpe, J. Volders and others, the Belgian Socialist Party was organised. After the revision of the Constitution, at the time of the legislative elections of 1894, he was elected Deputy of Charleroi. Since that time he has continued to be a member of the Belgian Parliament, where his eloquence and his scientific knowledge have made him leader of the party. When war broke out, he was appointed by the Government to be Minister of State, in order to represent the Socialist opposition on the King's Council. He is Professor at the New University of Brussels, and President of the International Socialist Bureau. He is thus the recognised head of the Continental Labour movement.

Nous avons vu naître à cette époque, spontanément, comme sortie des entrailles même du prolétariat, une fête qui unit tous les hommes dont la pensée se tourne vers la foule et, depuis vingt-cinq ans, on les voit, dans tous les pays, célébrer ce premier mai.

Hélas ! cette année, il n'en sera pas ainsi. Toute fête nous est impossible et dans les trois ordres d'idées qui nous occupent, la démonstration du 1er mai subit une éclipse irrémédiable.

L'Internationale est aujourd'hui divisée contre elle-même, disloquée par la guerre, séparée en trois tronçons : les Allemands, les Alliés, les Neutres.

La fête du travail, elle est impossible car, aujourd'hui, dans le monde entier, les ouvriers qui ne sont pas à la guerre, travaillent pour faire des armes, pour faire des munitions.

Et, enfin, est-il possible de penser au côté religieux du 1er mai, alors qu'il semble que nous assistions à une faillite non pas d'une religion mais de toutes les religions, à l'inutilité de leurs efforts pour empêcher l'homme d'être un loup pour les autres hommes.

Et cependant, je ne désespère pas, je ne veux pas désespérer ; j'ai la conviction inébranlable que demain se lèvera l'aube de jours meilleurs, que demain l'Internationalisme se reconstituera d'autant plus fort, d'autant plus puissant, que les peuples auront vu par eux-mêmes où les conduisait le nationalisme.

J'ai la conviction aussi que demain le travail s'organisera plus puissamment qu'il n'était organisé hier et que ceux qui aujourd'hui sont dans les tranchées et qui se battent contre ceux qu'on leur désigne comme des ennemis, n'auront pas moins d'énergie lorsqu'ils s'agira de se battre contre ceux qui les affament et les exploitent.

Venons-en maintenant à la question religieuse. Je dois vous en parler plus longuement afin d'expliquer ma présence ici et d'empêcher aussi qu'elle ne fasse naître des malentendus.

La plupart d'entre vous sinon tous, se rattachent à une confession déterminée, pratiquent une religion positive. Celui qui vous parle au contraire est un agnostique, il dirait même volontiers, avec Schiller, qu'il ne pratique aucune religion par religiosité, mais il a la conviction que le sentiment religieux est une des permanences de l'évolution sociale.



We have seen born spontaneously at this epoch, emerging as it were from the very bosom of the proletariat, a festival which unites all men of popular sympathies.

**The First of May in Eclipse.** For twenty-five years we have seen the 1st of May celebrated in every land.

Alas! this year it will not be so. No festival is possible to us. And in respect of the three ideas which occupy us, the 1st of May demonstration undergoes an irremediable eclipse.

Internationalism is to-day divided against itself, dislocated by war, broken up into three fragments—German, Allied, Neutral. The festival of Labour is impossible, because to-day throughout the world the workers who are not at the war are working to make weapons and munitions of war.

And, finally, is it possible to think of the 1st of May from the side of Religion, at a time when it seems that we are witnessing a veritable bankruptcy, not of one religion but of all religions, in the futility of their efforts to hinder man from being a wolf to other men?

Nevertheless, I do not despair. I will not despair! I have the immovable conviction that on the morrow will rise the dawn of better days, that on the morrow internationalism will be reconstituted all the more strongly, all the more powerfully, because the peoples will have seen for themselves where nationalism leads them.

I have also the conviction that on the morrow Labour will organise itself more powerfully than it is organised to-day, than it was organised yesterday, and that those who to-day are in the trenches and who are fighting against those who call them enemies will not have less courage when they fight against those who starve and exploit them.

We come now to the religious question. I must speak of it to you at greater length, in order to explain my presence here, and also to prevent it giving rise to misunderstanding.

The majority among you, if not all of you, are attached to a definite confession and practise a positive religion. He who addresses you, on the contrary, is an agnostic. He would even say, with Schiller, that he practises no religion for the sake of religion. But he has the conviction that the religious sentiment is one of the permanent factors in

**My Religious Convictions.**

Il a la conviction que, demain, comme hier, devant le mystère de ses origines et de ses destinées, l'humanité aura des sentiments religieux, se manifestant sans doute autrement qu'ils ne se sont manifestés dans le passé, plus librement, en faisant une plus large place à l'esprit personnel, mais avec la même intensité, peut être même avec une intensité plus grande. Et, si j'avais des doutes à cet égard, ces doutes viendraient à disparaître pour moi en entrant en contact avec la masse des travailleurs des Etats Unis et des pays Anglo-Saxons ; car, il y a, vous le savez, au point de vue religieux, une différence radicale, saisissante, je ne dirai pas entre les peuples du Continent européen et les peuples d'Angleterre et des Etats Unis, mais d'une manière générale entre les pays protestants et les pays catholiques.

Dans les pays protestants où l'on pratique une religion, des religions de liberté, la religion et le mouvement ouvrier ne sont pas à l'état d'antagonisme. Au contraire, dans les pays catholiques, il y a entre l'église et le mouvement ouvrier non seulement des oppositions, mais encore de l'hostilité.

Il importe de rechercher les motifs de cette différence.

Je les ai déjà indiqués en un mot, en disant qu'il importait de faire une distinction entre les religions de liberté et les religions d'autorité.

Ce qui caractérise la religion dans votre pays et généralement dans les pays protestants, c'est qu'elle est une affaire de conscience, affaire de liberté pure, qu'elle se confine dans le domaine spirituel, qu'elle ne prétend pas s'occuper des choses de ce monde, qu'elle se tient scrupuleusement à l'écart de tout ce qui pourrait porter atteinte à la liberté.

Ce qui caractérise, au contraire, la religion chez nous et, d'une manière générale, dans les pays catholiques, c'est qu'elle est une religion d'autorité, c'est qu'elle prétend non seulement régler la foi mais les mœurs et, par les mœurs la société toute entière ; qu'elle pénètre dans le domaine temporel, qu'elle s'occupe des choses de ce monde, qu'elle fait de la politique.

Prenez par exemple, les encycliques de *motu proprio* de Leon XIII. ou Pie X. Vous constaterez que ces documents

social evolution. He has the conviction that to-morrow, as yesterday, in the presence of the mystery of its origin and its destiny, humanity will cherish religious sentiments, expressing themselves doubtless otherwise than they were expressed in the past, with greater freedom, giving a larger place to the individual mind, but with the same intensity, perhaps with even greater intensity. And if I had any doubt in this respect these doubts would disappear for me on coming into touch with the mass of the workers in the United States, and

**Protestant and  
Catholic Lands  
Contrasted.**

in Anglo-Saxon countries. For there is, as you know, from the religious point of view, a radical, a startling difference—I would not say between the peoples on the Continent of Europe and the peoples of England and the United States; but in a general way between Protestant countries and Catholic countries. In Protestant countries, where is observed the religion of liberty, Religion and the Labour Movement are not in a state of antagonism. On the contrary, in the Catholic countries there is between the Church and the Labour Movement not only opposition, but even hostility.

Our business is to investigate the grounds of this difference. I have already described them in a word, by saying that we must make a distinction between the religions of liberty and of authority.

**The Religion  
of Liberty.**

What is it that characterises religion in your country, and generally in Protestant countries? This: that it is an affair of conscience, an affair of pure liberty, which is confined to the spiritual domain, which does not pretend to occupy itself with the things of the world; that it holds scrupulously aloof from all that could bring harm to liberty.

What, on the other hand, characterizes religion in our country, and in a general way in Catholic countries? This:

**The Religion  
of Authority.**

that it is a religion of authority; that it assumes to rule not only faith, but conduct, and, through conduct, society as a whole; that it penetrates into the temporal domain; that it occupies itself with the things of this world; that it enters into politics.

Take, for example, the Encyclical *de motu proprio* of Leo XIII., or that of Pope Pius X. You will perceive that

ne s'occupent pas seulement de questions religieuses, mais de questions politiques et de questions sociales, qu'ils ne règlent seulement pas ce qui concerne la foi mais encore les mœurs et la société toute entière.

Vous y verrez que le pape déclare qu'il y aura toujours des pauvres et des riches, des doctes et des ignorants, que la division des classes est dans le plan providentiel, que ceux qui veulent effacer les distinctions des classes en substituant la propriété collective à la propriété privée vont à l'encontre de la volonté divine, qu'ils sont des adversaires de la société et de la religion. Le pape Leon XIII. appelle le socialisme une "peste léthifère." Pie X. se sert d'expressions plus violentes encore et, tout la hiérarchie catholique, suivant les avis de ses maîtres, considère le socialisme comme l'ennemi à combattre. Dans notre pays, dès que nous créons une maison du peuple, le clergé s'empresse de créer une maison des ouvriers. Là ou nous créons un Syndicat Rouge, elle crée immédiatement un Syndicat Jaune !

Nous subissons cette lutte sur le terrain politique comme sur le terrain social ; non pas parce que nous le voulons, mais parce que l'église le veut. Si l'hostilité s'est ainsi établie entre la religion et le socialisme, et a creusé son sillon fatal, c'est que les travailleurs socialistes entendent se défendre. C'est que voyant le prêtre se dresser contre eux comme un ennemi, ils le traitent comme un ennemi, et aussi l'église qu'il représente. Si bien que, finalement, il leur apparaît que le socialisme ne doit pas être surtout anticlérical mais antireligieux.

C'est contre cette conclusion qu'il nous faut réagir. Notre devoir est de faire comprendre aux travailleurs que, s'ils doivent empêcher que l'église, que toutes les églises, n'interviennent dans le domaine politique, ils doivent se rendre compte qu'entre le socialisme et la religion proprement dite, entre le socialisme et le christianisme, bien loin qu'il y ait opposition, il y a au contraire une communauté de fait et



these documents do not occupy themselves only with religious questions, but with political questions and social questions; that they regulate not only what concerns faith, but also conduct and society as a whole. You will see there that the Pope declares that there will always be poor and rich, clever men and ignorant; that the division of the classes is in the plan of Providence; that those who would efface the distinctions of classes by substituting collective ownership in place of private ownership are going contrary to the Divine Will.

**The Papal  
Attitude.**

These are enemies of society and of religion. Pope Leo XIII. called Socialism a lethiferous pest. Pius X. used still more violent expressions. And all the Catholic hierarchy, following the advice of its masters, considers Socialism as an enemy to be fought. In our country, when we erect a People's House (*Maison du Peuple*) the clergy set about erecting a Working-men's House (*Maison des Ouvriers*). When we form a "red" Trade Union they immediately form a "yellow" Trade Union.

We are undergoing this struggle on the political plane as upon the social plane, not because we will it, but because the Churches wills it. Hostility having been thus established between Religion and Socialism, and having drawn its fatal furrow between them, the Socialist workers mean to defend themselves. Seeing the priest setting himself against them as an enemy, they treat him and the Church he represents as an enemy. In the end they think that Socialism must be not only anti-clerical but anti-religious.

Against this conclusion we must now set up a reaction. It is our duty to make the workers understand that, whilst they ought to prevent the Church—every Church—from intervening in the political domain, they ought to take into account that between Socialism and real Religion, between Socialism and Christianity, far from there being any opposition, there is, on the contrary,

**Anti-Catholic,  
not  
Anti-Religious.**

d'idéal. Il est d'ailleurs à remarquer que dans notre pays où la lutte contre l'église catholique est si ardente, où la lutte est si vive, nous, socialistes, nous avons toujours eu de si bonnes relations avec les ministres des missions protestantes.

Il n'y a pas d'opposition entre le socialisme et les religions de liberté et ce qui fait que je me trouve dans un milieu qui m'est si profondément sympathique, c'est que vous êtes des esprits religieux. Seulement, chez vous le sentiment religieux vivifie le socialisme au lieu de lui être hostile et vous continuez ainsi la tradition chrétienne à travers les siècles. Qu'a été en effet la religion chrétienne primitive, sinon une doctrine révolutionnaire qui a sauvé le monde en supprimant l'esclavage et, plus tard, lors de la réaction du protestantisme contre le despotisme catholique, la Ligue de tous les défenseurs de la liberté de conscience.

De même, dans un prochain avenir et spécialement dans les pays Anglo-Saxons, l'essor du sentiment religieux sera pour le socialisme un adjuvant puissant en faisant descendre le Royaume des Cieux sur la terre.

C'est la signification de la semaine qui commence. Vous allez affirmer que le socialisme et la religion doivent s'unir, se prêter un mutuel appui. Je souhaite à vos travaux d'être féconds, pour le triple intérêt de l'internationalisme, du travail et du sentiment religieux.

a community of fact and ideal. It should be noticed, too, that in our country, where the fight is so keen, where the struggle against the Catholic Church is so intense, we Socialists have always been on good terms with the ministers of the Protestant missions.

There is no opposition between Socialism and the religions of liberty. And what brings me here to a centre with which

**Socialism and Religion—  
Allies!** I have such a profound sympathy is that you are religious people; but with you the religious sentiment vivifies Socialism in place of being hostile to it, and so you continue the

Christian tradition across the centuries. For what was the primitive Christian religion if not a doctrine of revolution, which has saved the world by suppressing slavery, and, later, at the time of the Protestant reaction against Catholic despotism, the league of all who defended liberty of conscience. In the near future, and especially in the Anglo-Saxon countries, the expansion of the religious feeling will be for Socialism a powerful aid, by bringing down to earth the Kingdom of Heaven.

This is the significance of the Week now commencing. You will affirm that Socialism and Religion ought to unite and lend each other moral support. I hope that your work will be fruitful, in the threefold interest of Internationalism, of Labour, and of religious sentiment.



# LABOUR SUNDAY, MAY 2ND.

## The Movement in Norway,

BY

**EINAR LI.\***

The secretary of the Norwegian Labour Party suggested that I should be asked to speak in this Labour Week. I need not tell you that it was a great pleasure to me to get the invitation. I visited England thirteen years ago, and I am sorry to say that then also your country was at war. But during my stay at Ruskin Hall in 1902 I made many good friends amongst the Labour students in Oxford. The same thing happened to me when the International Visits Committee, in 1907 and 1908, stayed in Norway, where

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\*EINAR LI was nominated by Swedish and Norwegian delegates to a recent conference of the Social Democracy at Copenhagen to represent Scandinavia in the International Labour Week. Mr. Li comes of a long line of military ancestors, reaching back to Lars Li, captain in the army in the 17th century. His great-grandfather died as a young lieutenant, and his grandfather was a general in the army and Chief of the General Staff. His father, who is still living, is Lieutenant-Colonel. Mr. Li's fighting blood has, however, from the first been turned into the war against war, wherein he displays the high qualities of the soldier of peace. Before he was twenty he delivered his first speech against militarism at a great open-air meeting in Bergen, where he was born in 1880. He graduated B.A., but his university career was cut short by a significant event. He was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment with hard labour because he refused to do the compulsory military service. This led him to break off his studies in jurisprudence. In 1901 he started as one of the editors of the Socialist monthly magazine, "The Twentieth Century," now published by the Norwegian Labour Party. From 1901 to 1909 he was one of the staff on the Social Democratic journal in Christiania, the chief organ of the party in Norway. In 1909 he became editor-in-chief of the Socialist daily, entitled *First of May*, at Stavanger. He has travelled in Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France and England. He was a student at Ruskin Hall, Oxford, in 1902. He was formerly a member of the International Socialist Bureau in Brussels. In 1913 he was elected member of the Stavanger County Council. His hobby is ski-ing. He is married and the happy father of two daughters.



I lectured for them at the University of Kristiania upon the Norwegian Labour Movement. Since that time I have myself travelled in several countries, but I am sure that if I should live in exile—as many of my dear countrymen would like me to do—I should feel more at home in England than anywhere else. I should be inclined to choose England as my second fatherland, just as Browning chose Italy.

This statement is more than a personal declaration of love. It has other good reasons. Our history tells us that our two peoples were very early acquainted with each other, and the communication between them has later on been very cordial in trade and commerce, in art, science and literature. Perhaps the Norwegian feels this kinship to be strongest with the Scotsman.

When I ask myself what is one of the characteristics of the near relationship between our races, I can at once confess that in my opinion the British people is a religious nation. That is, at any rate, my very strong impression. And I am glad to say that my own is a religious people too.

We have no Browning Settlement at home. But when we learned of its Labour Weeks, with the magnificent speeches in this Hall, for example, of Keir Hardie, Macdonald, Henderson, and many other Labour Members of Parliament, it reminded us that even if we didn't have such prominent speakers as you, yet many well-known members of our Labour Party have also chosen Jesus Christ as their guide and standard.

This is not less true as to my own town, Stavanger. It is not only the city where the first Y.M.C.A. arose, the founder of this movement being a Stavanger man, by name Hærem. In the same town was born the veteran leader of the temperance movement, Asbjorn Kloster, who started the first society of the total abstainers on the very spot where his cradle had stood. From one of the great national poems, "Peer Gynt," by our famous dramatist, Henrik Ibsen, you perhaps also remember some mocking lines about the "missionary of Stavanger," alluding to that town having given birth to, and still remaining

the headquarters of, the great Norwegian Society for Foreign Missions. At the same time you will find some of the foremost members of the Labour Movement in Stavanger taking part in religious life and work. One of our members in the municipal government is chairman of the Home Mission, and another member of the same municipal body, who is a lady, works very successfully in the women's White Ribbon Band. Some of our ablest Trade Unionists have come to us from the Y.M.C.A., and the director of the post office in my town and Socialist member of the County Council is member of the Royal Commission on the alcohol question. In these ways the Labour Movement maintains the tradition of the town.

Nevertheless, we have, in all Norway, as reported by the warden of this Settlement after his presence at the Scandinavian Student Union Conference in Lillehammer, very vigorously to repudiate the charge frequently brought against us by our opponents, of being hostile to religion. Such an accusation, however, is a well-known political dodge in my country, just because the parties very well know the strong religious feelings of the people.

Even liberal speakers and papers to-day make use of this unfair and unjust charge against the Labour Movement. But just in the same way the Conservatives used to charge the Liberals themselves with intending to abolish Christianity from the schools and from the country. Although every man could tell himself that such a horrible thing was quite inconceivable, some of our professors—men of letters and science, and of the profoundest learning of their time—published an open prophecy that if the Liberals came to power in my country they would de-Christianise the people. I think this historical document is now some twenty or thirty years old. And Liberals have had the majority in our Parliament many times since then, and they have it to-day. But I have not seen any attempt made in the direction mentioned. And as heathenism did not come by the Liberal Government, I daresay we certainly shall not be flung back to the heathen ages by the advent to power of the Labour Movement.

When Liberals accuse Socialism of antagonism to the

Christian religion, they are only taking a sort of sweet revenge. But if a single Socialist has said an unguarded, careless, or silly word on religious matters—for example, that “no Socialist can be a Christian”—all Conservative and Liberal papers in my country would at once print and reprint it with avidity. It would not matter if we were to repeat a hundred or a thousand times that Socialism as a movement or as a party does not work against religion, and could not do it, or that many Socialists just as able have said exactly the opposite, namely, that they are Christians, and therefore Socialists.

If we make up our minds upon single cases you will find as many people in the “upper ten” of society, from which the Conservative and Liberal parties are recruited, who have lost their faith, as in the labouring classes, who largely belong to the Socialist Movement. But you cannot make

a whole party responsible for single sayings of every member. I have at all events heard many people belonging to *all* parties say, “There is no God!” I don’t laugh at them. I am too deeply sorry for them. But I really doubt whether they are in earnest or to be treated quite seriously.

What should you think of a parallel utterance: “There is no music,” “There are no fine arts,” and so on? And yet those propositions might have their reasons in the fact that many people are more or less unmusical and they have had little or no opportunity of cultivating their artistic tastes. So too our religious faculties can be neglected. *But every man has a religion*, even he who himself believes that he has not. The great Russian thinker, Tolstoy, is right when he says, that “a man without religion is as unimaginable a creature as a man without a heart.”

If I were going to live in the busy city of London it would perhaps happen to me sometimes to lose myself. If any-

body who is present here this afternoon has lost himself in another and deeper sense, I should like to suggest, as a good remedy, that he, let me say, go to Oxford and ask for Keble College. There you find in the small, rather dark, choir the picture by Holman Hunt, “The Light of the World.” It is not only a marvellous piece of

**Socialists  
Reported  
Unfairly.**

**Unbelievers in  
Every Party.**

**Atheism No  
Serious  
Opinion.**

**See “The  
Light of the  
World”—**

painting—look at it!—I think it is as impressive a sermon as you ever heard in Westminster Abbey or in St. Paul's Cathedral. Do stay there for a moment, and afterwards I should wish to have a talk with you. Or if you went back

**The White  
Snow  
Mountains,**

with me to Norway—and I naturally prefer that—I should like to take you up with me into the high mountains, where your eyes are dazzled by the bright sunshine from the bluest sky you ever dreamed of, over the wide, white snow regions stretching away as far as you can see. Or follow me to the shore in heavy winter weather, when the high waves of the sea break in upon you and smash everything in the way, where men are losing their lives, their wives and children looking on unable to bring any help

**The Tragedy  
of the Sea,**

to husband, father or brother. If you did not hear the first lesson, I venture to say that you very soon would understand at least why the people living there, under very poor circumstances, bend their knees, fold their hands, and bow their heads to Him, the Almighty, the Unsearchable. Or have you been very, very ill yourself? or have you visited an

**Or Your Own  
Ailing Heart!—**

infirmary—perhaps in order to call upon some of your dearest friends when facing death's river? or have you been unhappy at any event, and downcast? or have you done something wrong and felt the pangs of conscience, so that you could not look into a little innocent child's clear eyes? Then I am sure we shall not need to discuss whether there is a God or not, or whether you have a religion!

But even if, in these “educated times,” as mere men of intelligence, we find it necessary to have an intellectual debate on the question, I believe the problem can

**Theism  
Scientifically  
Proved.**

be quickly solved in the most scientific manner. Little knowledge leads away from God, much knowledge leads to God, so it has been well said. Are you a student of Spencer? Even then I think there are no dangers or difficulties in starting in his good companionship with the most abstract speculations on the limits of time and space, in order to reach in a mathematical way the same fundamental conclusion as to infinity and eternity, which I consider to be the chief essentials of divinity, of God, or Logos, or whatever name you like to bestow.



Passing from this more individual or psychological side of the subject, I should like you to look upon religion from a more social point of view. It is neither sufficient nor satisfactory that people should grasp these things only theoretically. We

**Wanted :  
Practical  
Christianity.**

want to see religion in practice, or practical Christianity. Christian people should do Christian deeds. So I turn to some of the Christian virtues in social life.

The first Socialists were persecuted and punished just as the first Christians. Religion has its martyrs; their blood was the seed of the Church. You will allow me to mention one of the French Socialists in this connection. Jean Jaurès gave his life for the cause of peace. His name should be remembered by this first International Labour Week with reverence.

**A Socialist  
Martyr.**

One of the main Christian principles, it seems to me, may be put in a very few words : Do good, do the best you can for all; and first of all, do not do to others what you don't want them to do to you. I fear to examine the state of society before you from this point of view. I have not only the war in mind. We call the time in which we are living, the capitalistic era. Its watchword is this : "Am I my brother's keeper?" Strong individualism speaks to us in that way. But the altruist, the social reformer, the socialist, has listened to the words of our Lord : "Feed My lambs;

**Individualist v.  
Socialist.**

tend My sheep." Where do you find this social solidarity more striking than amongst the workers? Where do you find people helping each other as in the workshops? Have not the workingmen themselves even organised their readiness to help, a long time before the community assisted their insurance funds? I know that there is a good deal of charity done by other classes, and I fully appreciate the good Samaritan wherever he comes from. But

**Charity Good,  
Justice Better.**

we shall not forget that much of this work is a small repayment, and only an attempt to make good again the injury done by the existing system : First you supply the people with drink and then you must discover restrictive measures and build lunatic asylums and gaols for the victims ! That is the rational politics of to-day ! And we should not stop with charity, but try to do justice.



Many people look upon strikes as mere noisy disturbances, but they do not realise that they are struggles for righteousness. They don't remember the ethical

**Ethical Value of Strikes.** values involved: what tremendous sacrifices the strikers and their wives are making. They are not only fighting for themselves, but they take all the burdens upon their shoulders as willingly for the sake of their comrades, whom they never saw. Their aim is not narrow egoism as many think. They are suffering for their home, for wife and children, for coming generations.

**The Workers Altruistic.** They know that if the workers are oppressed, society will suffer, but if they, as the greatest, most numerous class in society, get a fairer share in the general development, the whole community will be more prosperous. They do not wish to exploit anybody, and therefore they do not want to be exploited.

If the Church considered it as a task worth doing to save the working classes of Europe from materialism and atheism, it would soon be recognised that the spirit which animates the Labour Movement is very closely associated with social religion, and that Socialism is the living gospel of Christ.

The Browning Settlement is expected to bring us this gospel of labour in Jesus Christ, and never, I think, has that endeavour required more strenuous effort or supplied greater inspiration than now. I only wish that we could soon get branches of the same work in countries all over the world.

I read in the introduction to the fourth Labour Week, that a friend occupying a responsible position in the United Free Church of Scotland writes

**Church in Scotland and Norway.** about the necessary relation of Church and Labour: "In my opinion the Church is moving more rapidly towards a union than Labour is." I regret that I cannot say the same thing about the Norwegian Church. Although Norway is no Catholic country such as Vandervelde spoke of yesterday, the Protestant Church in many instances tries to counteract the Labour Movement on the same basis as the Conservatives and Liberals. When the relation of Church and Labour therefore, in many cases even with us, is hostile, the fault is not only on the side of the working men.

It may well be added what is said by a Danish comrade,

Alfred Kruse, who translated "Christ and Labour," but whom the Norwegian Government has banished from the country, that "not only ought Christians in our time to bring forward a more practical Christianity, which takes its ideals from Jesus and the earliest Christians, but also the social democrats need to realise that the Labour Movement cannot accomplish its historical mission or achieve its requisite progress without the help of Christianity." I hope that we shall realise this. But I can count on one hand not only the clergymen who have joined our movement, but even those who have shown a sympathetic understanding of our strivings. They are more engaged with all their power and vigour in theological controversies over Christian dogmas.

**A Pre-occupied Clergy.**

In order to be just, I believe this lack of social interest is a rather general characteristic of the Norwegian people, which has no counterpart in England. We have very few, and very imperfect, social laws: an accident, a sick and out-of-work insurance law, a law concerning labour inspection—all of them ought to be thoroughly revised. The right of association is not legally fixed, and the lawyers are breaking their heads in trying to think how they can check the Trade Unions, Co-operative Movement, and political Labour Party—three branches from the same stock. I never understood how Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" was translated into Norwegian in 1779, only three years after the famous book was published in English. I suppose it was an accident, because more than two hundred years later we had as little social science as we have of social law.

As Malthus found out during his visit to Norway, our country was a very happy one, both in regard to population and in other aspects, and our politicians till very lately maintained that a social question in Norway did not exist at all. The working classes have never agreed with them upon that point, and after having got universal suffrage, certain figures show their opinion. As late as in 1900 the Norwegian Labour Party only counted seven thousand votes at the general election to Parliament. But in spite of the

**Growth in Socialist Vote.**

charges of other parties, and the hostility of the Church, and in spite of the very small interest in social matters, we got in 1903 twenty-four thousand votes, and for the first time four Socialist Labour Members took their seats in Parliament. In 1906 we obtained forty-three thousand Socialist votes; in 1909, ninety thousand; and in 1912, one hundred and twenty-five thousand, and returned twenty-two Labour Members out of a Parliament of one hundred and twenty. And this year we are going to have another election, and then we shall see how the most recent events have influenced our politics. In

**Trade Unions,** the same period the Co-operative Movement  
**and** has grown very rapidly, and the general  
**Co-operators.** federation of Trade Unions has gone from  
 three thousand members to seventy thousand.

When you bear in mind that women also have the right to vote, the Trade Union figures correspond fairly well to the figures of the general elections, and it can be said that as a whole every trade unionist is a Socialist. The political Labour Party consists simply of Trade Unions. The municipal elections are with us also fought on political lines. In 1901 we got one hundred and fifty Socialist members of the local government boards throughout the whole country; in 1904, three hundred members; in 1907, eight hundred; in 1910, fourteen hundred; and in 1913, eighteen hundred. The direction in which we are marching cannot be doubtful, and the advance, best of all, shows to me that the charge by our opponents of being hostile to religion is not true. And I cannot see the reason why this solid progress should stop.

The strength of our movement is perhaps illustrated in the best way by our ten daily Socialist papers. And besides them we have sixteen other papers, the publication of which varies from twice to thrice  
**Socialist**  
**Journalism.** and four times a week. Your good man,  
 William T. Stead, mentions somewhere

three distinctive characteristics of the new era on whose threshold we are standing: (1) The world is passing into the hands of the English-speaking peoples: that is a political problem. (2) Woman is at last beginning to be recognised as a being with a right to equal privileges and opportunities to man: that is essentially a moral question. And

**What W. T.**  
**Stead said.**

(3) society is being reorganised on a socialist basis: an economical movement.

If you do not accept his testimony, let me quote what Professor Sidgwick wrote in reference to the last point, and none of you doubt his authority in this special matter: "Observers of the current drift of political thought and practice, however widely they may diverge in their judgments of its tendencies, appear to be generally agreed upon one point, viz., that Socialism is flowing in upon us with a full tide." This was written many years before the war.

**Professor  
Sidgwick's  
Witness.**

How sad the times are! I think nobody is in doubt on this point now. It seems to me that just the economic conditions during the last nine months have verified Sidgwick. Whatever the war has broken down, and is going to break down, we have learned some lessons from it. I hear again a Christian who says, "International Socialism could not avoid the war. Where is brotherhood now?" And I hear the Socialist answer: "We have preached our internationalism in fifty years, and our efforts failed. But the Christians have preached the gospel of Jesus Christ for two thousand years, and their efforts failed. We were overpowered, but did you try?"

I think we should not quarrel about the past or have a new fight going on between Christians and Socialists. The doctrinaires do not know whether a good society is the product of good individuals or good individuals are the product of a good society. I think we are all right in saying that they both influence each other. And as there is no dualism between things spiritual and material, Christianity and Socialism should, as good brethren, share their responsibility for the past and present.

**Chick or Egg?**

It is clear to everybody why the war came. Opinions may differ as to the outer circumstances, although even here you have a line to follow in the words of Jaurès. It is always difficult to say which is the defensive and which is the offensive power. But Jaurès said that the offensive country is that country which refuses arbitration or a con-

**Causes of the  
War.**



ference. You accuse one government, another man accuses another; it depends largely how far you go back in history. And "it is always difficult to know where to begin in history," as one of your great men says in his "Outlines of Lectures on Political Science." Many things have contributed to the outburst of war, and not only the governments, or single men, or one single man, but every person in every country, even in the neutral countries. The main reasons can, however, be summed up in those two groups: *capitalism* and *militarism*.

In *capitalism* I include the division of the world by big nations, or the colonial policy and the question of protection or free trade, and all the economic struggles

**Capitalism.** between individuals as also between nationalities—for instance, Austria or Hungary and Servia, Russia and Germany, Germany and England, and so forth. To *militarism* belongs the competition in armaments, secret diplomacy, and the alliance

**Militarism.** policy. But what is the question now? The question after the war is only this: Do you learn from experience? or shall we begin from the beginning and have the same tragedy once more over again?

During the war we Socialists, however, have also got another lesson in reference to existing society. We have seen the highly praised system of competition

**Failure of Competitive System.** fail in supplying the needs of the people. The community has been forced to interfere in many ways. For instance, I was happy

enough to hear Lloyd George in Parliament on Thursday. He said he did not propose the new Bill on alcohol as a temperance Act, or even as a social reform; it was only during the war taxes should be so high. Well, that's all right. But everything that the Government or the State has found necessary in order to strengthen the efficiency of the nation during a war and save it from capitalistic plundering, I think should be remembered as a good example in time of peace. Because *then* also it might be our duty to do our best to have a sober people and supply people with commodities in the most reasonable way, and stop "the organised robbery."

Carlyle says that the evolution of society means the level-



ling of the differences between the classes. In some ways the war has done this. In one sense it has not. As the Prime Minister of Denmark said, the poor have become poorer and the rich richer. I therefore don't think the Labour Movement will come out of these terrible times weakened.

But I should also wish that *even if* the Socialists or the Christians could not *stop* the war, the Christian Socialists, in recognising the common economic interest and human interest, should try to break that national hatred for which the soil is only too ripe.

The war is a disgrace to mankind, a foolish thing the more you think of it. And I should have liked to put this question to you : Whether it is necessary to fight it to the end or better to shorten this foolishness as much as possible? I only ask, I am not going to discuss it. I know too well that both sides only wish to beat each other, and to speak of peace is thought to show weakness. To a country which shows hospitality, I also wish to show loyalty.

But when that time comes, when blood enough and tears enough have been shed, do not then rank yourselves among the most unreasonable or implacable of men.

**A Plain Duty.** I ask for this because it seems to me to be more than a RIGHT, for the Socialist to be a Christian and for the Christian to be a Socialist. Let us try to do our DUTY. We are all brethren.

## The Music of Labour,

BY

F. HERBERT STEAD.

On Sunday evening the proceedings were chiefly musical. There were sung : "And the Glory of the Lord," "The International," "England, Arise," "The Toilers," the new version of "The Ninety and Nine," "When wilt Thou save the People?" and the Hallelujah Chorus. The warden spoke on "The Music of Labour" as follows :—

Labour and song to many minds will appear thoughts almost opposed. We think of leisure and song rather than of Labour and song. When the work is done, the burden of toil removed, in the scanty free time, then men say, "Let us sing."

But Labour and song are not opposed. They are twins rather than enemies. Historically, if you glance back, you will find that song has been the accompani-

**Work with** ment of Labour, that it has been the joy of  
**Song.** Labour finding expression in rhythmic word and sound and step. Right round the world, from remotest antiquity, the gladdest songs have been sung by workers at work—harvest songs, the vintage song, and even in the most terrible labour of all, the war song. Music has been the accompaniment of labour, the expression of the joy of work.

Such is the testimony of the past of the human race. But alas ! in modern times work that is the normal expression of the human will, that is meant to be the glad-hearted forth-putting of strength and of mastery over circumstance and nature, has been degraded. It has been turned into drudgery. It has been transformed into slavery. Who now would think

of the miner in the mine, the mill-hand in  
**Work without** the factory, the railwaymen at their work,  
**Song.** blithely singing as the lark sings, as the harvesters have sung of old, as the fisher-folk have sung, as the sailors have sung? Amid the clang of the hammer, and the hum of machinery, with the long hours, with

the strained, tense attention, the concentrated energy on a single process, work ceases to be music. It ceases to find expression in song. It has become slowly mechanical rather than human. When the giant industry came in, music went out.

But, my friends, I hope that we shall all resolve to put ourselves in line with the normal and natural, and not with the artificial and mechanical, that we shall  
**Labour to Sing** endeavour to wed anew the unhappily  
**Again.** divorced pair of labour and song. To-night we have had—shall I say?—embryonic beginnings of that tide of song that will sweep the combined hosts of Labour to their appointed goal. There are signs not a few that Labour will sing yet again in the gladness of world-mastery, in the joy of self-expression, in the freedom from care that ought to accompany toil.

Some of you will remember, when we were in Zürich, in Switzerland, at the Central Headquarters of the Labour Movement in Switzerland, we found a library  
**Swiss Trade** of books, and amongst them were songs—  
**Unions.** songs with music. Nor were these for use by a choral society, by a choir belonging to this or that Labour organisation. They were there to be purchased by every federated Trade Union in Switzerland. Every affiliated Trade Union in Switzerland, in paying its affiliation fee, paid also for these song-books. It is not a matter of option. It is a matter of obligation that all these Swiss Trade Unions shall have their song-books and shall sing. And some of us know how splendidly they do sing.

That is a hint which I have pressed before, and will press again on our organised labour in England—that music and song shall not be a mere optional addition to the associated life of the organised workers, but shall be expected of every form of organised labour. We know that in the North of England much is done in the orchestral way, and some of the finest bands in the country are colliery bands. One hopes that gradually, though it be slowly, Labour will reclaim his heritage of song.

But, friends, though I speak under correction, I will venture to say that the greatest music of Labour is yet to come. It is a hope, it is a prophecy; it is not here. You have sung

some of the songs of Labour ; you have heard some other songs of labour ; you have seen these set to the **Wanted : a new** grand accompaniment of Hebrew hope and **Marseillaise.** inspired anticipation. But the music of Labour is yet to appear. We wait for the advent

of the poet and the musician, who together will put into verse and music the history, the tragedy, and the coming triumph of Labour. It will, I trust, take the form of a great war song of embattled Labour that shall be to the Labour Movement what the "Marseillaise" was to the French Revolution. Some of us have in this hall heard the "Marseillaise" sung by a Frenchwoman, and later by a Frenchman, in a way that made us realise the almost daimonic potencies of such a song. How the mere sound, even in an unknown tongue, thrilled our brain, sent fire into our blood, filled us with burning desire to do and, if need be, to die ! Some such great war song of advancing Labour we wait for, when word and song together shall drive with volcanic force into the hearts of

**The Oratorio** the most sluggish the purpose and the will  
**of Labour.** to conquer and to achieve. Or it may yet take the form of some stately oratorio moving with majestic certainty to a glorious end. Can you not hear it in the imagination of your hearts, the great musical poem of the advance of Labour ? Do you not hear in the overture, first the glad songs of the reaper, the vintager, the boatman, the fisher, then the sterner strains of war, then the crashing discords and heartrending wails of all the instruments that make you live again through the horrors of slavery—the overseer's lash—the shriek of the helpless, captive woman torn from home to be the slave of shame and passion and cruelty ? Can you not picture to your ear the strains that would tell you of the slow suffering of child and woman in mine and in factory, the deadening, dulling sense of the continuous routine of toil, without freedom for play, or home, or aught but miserable drudgery ?

Can you not hear hurtling about your ears the misery of the sweater's den, the gentle, feeble wailing out of the life of the needlewoman in the cold, damp attic ? When will the musical genius arise who will not busy himself with fantastic modernised versions of ancient mythology, but will deal with the great drama of suffering, bleeding, toiling humanity all around us to-day, who will make us feel in the quiver of his

music the agonies of starving and tempted maidenhood, the tragedies of fall, the suicidal despair? Who will interpret in sounds, jarring and yet sweet, the hopelessness of the aged worker flung aside, no longer needed as an economic tool, into disgrace and loneliness, ay, and starvation? Who will make audible in orchestra and chorus and in the voice of some great singer the sorrows of the homeless worker, the long-drawn-out agony of the unemployed seeking work and finding none? There are vast reservoirs of pathos, great stores of possibilities of music that the world has not yet heard. But, if God is gracious, we may yet hear it.

Then we may hope to have made living and audible to us the wild cries of reaction and revolt, the thunder of death-dealing revolution, the bitterness of long unrighted wrong, the violent revenge of multitudes groping in their blindness with gory fingers for some rude form of justice. Then can you not hear "the approaching trample" of federated Labour, as man finds, by union with man in brotherly helpfulness and loyal comradeship, what no wild transports of vengeance could effect? There is music in the march of Labour, if but the musician were there to hear and make us hear. The gathering together in their millions of our Trade Unionists—there is music in it, the music of heroism, the music of resolute, overmastering purpose, the music of sacrifice, the music of martyrdom. In the associations of men in the Co-operative Movement, in their Friendly Societies, in their political organisations, there is a vast store of delight and inspiration. May God soon send us a man who can put the Labour Movement, its great history and its great aspiration, into molten song, and let us hear it in grand *crescendo* marching from its early and faint beginnings to the triumph that is yet to be!

But the music would be faulty and its inspiration would be weak unless through all the process there ran the deep undertone of religious hope, of religious faith, of religious love. The great musical poem of the advance of Labour will find its highest *motif*, its culmination of achievement, in the recognition of



the slowly manifested Death and Life of Christ. We wait to hear the strains which genius will sweep out from the iron-chorded lyre of Labour effort, Labour achievement, Labour aspiration. We await the coming of the man who will make the world realise that the crucifixion of Labour and the resurrection of Labour are but one great act in the drama of the Cross and of the Empty Sepulchre, are but the unveiling of that æonial process that makes human history, whereby men of all nationalities and all nations and languages are being gathered together and re-animated into the Living Body of our Lord. The oratorio—for by no lesser name could it be called—that began amidst the clanging horrors of slavery ends in a pæan of thanksgiving for a world redeemed from the curse of bondage and selfishness and sin, and transformed into the Kingdom, nay, the very Body of the Lord Jesus Christ. Of that great music, for which the ears of millions round the world are anxiously waiting, we have a foretaste in the great pæan of Christian faith, the Hallelujah Chorus, which will now be sung.



# The Soul of French Socialism,

BY

**JEAN LONGUET. \***

It might appear that my task this evening, in putting before you the relations between Religion and the Socialist and Labour Movement in France, is of a specially difficult character, as in no country in the world does the Socialist and Labour Movement seem so foreign and even so antagonistic to religious belief. The or-

\*JEAN LONGUET's father, Charles Longuet, a Norman, settled in Paris at the age of twenty-two. He was a Republican, and published the first Republican journals during the Second Empire. Among his contributors were men whose names became famous in politics and letters—G. Clémenceau, Anatole France, Sully-Prudhomme. He took part in the defence of Paris (1871), and was a member of the Commune. After the failure of the movement he took refuge in London. He was teacher of languages in King's College, Strand. He married Jenny Marx, the eldest daughter of Karl Marx. Jean, the eldest of four children, was born in London on May 10th, 1876. In 1880 Charles Longuet returned to France, where he had a distinguished political and journalistic career until his death in 1903. Anatole France was among the eminent Frenchmen who delivered orations over his grave. Jean Longuet was educated at Caen, and studied law and arts at Paris. From an early age he was an ardent Socialist, and stirred up both his fellow students and the working men of the southern labour districts of Paris to interest in Socialist ideals and literature. He went as delegate to various Socialist conferences, contributed to Socialist reviews, and joined with Jaurès in the pro-Armenian agitation in 1898. He took a large journalistic part in the Dreyfus *affaire* on the side of justice. He spent the years from 1899-1905 in advocating the necessity of Socialist unity, with final success. In 1906 he was asked to contest Guise, in the department of the Aisne, in the Socialist interest. Although his candidature was not successful, he pursued educational work with diligence, both at Guise and Laon. In 1912 he contested this last constituency, and built up the Socialist party there. In 1914, nominated as the Socialist candidate in the Paris suburbs, in the fifth district of Sceaux, he became deputy for this district. He enrolled himself as a barrister in 1908, and soon distinguished himself in cases concerning working men—defending strikers, trade unionists, and others, and obtaining their acquittal. Meanwhile he continued to study social and economic questions, and especially foreign affairs. He contributed to *L' Humanité* from its foundation in 1904, and has published many Socialist pamphlets, and a big book of 700 pages on the International Socialist Movement. Since he has been elected to the French Parliament he has been member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and of the Committee for Legislative Reform.

ganisation of the working class, not only politically, but in Trades Unions and in Co-operative Societies, seems to be imbued with anti-clerical and even anti-religious ideas.

Nevertheless, I think that, just as much as in any other country, the Labour Movement of France is deeply religious in the largest and fullest sense of the word.

**No!**

At any rate, that is what I desire to demonstrate to you, as a Socialist who has belonged already for twenty-one years to his party, which he at present represents in the Parliament of his country; as a French Socialist who is, personally, an agnostic, but absolutely respectful to all sincere religious belief; as an international social democrat who has the truest admiration for

**Effect of the  
Gospel in  
Britain.**

the marvellous fountain of democratic enthusiasm, popular devotion and socialistic love which Great Britain has found in the teachings of the Gospel. One traces that stream of influence from the times when your Lollards gave the fundamental basis to the principles of liberty, of democracy, and even of communism in modern Europe, to the present age, when we see how deeply Christian Socialism has affected the British Labour Movement. This was seen in the great Dock Strike of 1889, which I followed as a child. I remember the benevolent influence of Cardinal Manning; the birth of the Independent Labour Party in 1891. The same tendency appears in the growth of the Labour Party, where so many fervent Christians are playing a prominent part.

To understand the attitude, not only of the Labour and Socialist Party, but of the whole French democracy towards Religion, it is absolutely necessary to remember the traditional and constant attitude

**Policy of the  
Church in  
France.**

of the great dominating Church in France—the Roman Catholic Church—towards all the aspirations of the nation, and the most cherished beliefs of democracy. You can go through all the big struggles of the French people during the last one hundred and twenty-five years, and all the time you will find the Catholic Church on the side of the rich, of the powerful, of the nobility, of royalty, of capitalism; in a word, of the people's oppressors and tyrants. Shall I recall the great Revolution, the part played by the leaders of the Church, on

the side of the people's enemies; how everywhere they raised prejudices and hate against the great emancipating movement, as in Vendée, in Brittany, in the South? Shall I recall how they led the reaction at the time of the Restoration of the Bourbons, who had returned to France in the "waggons of the invading enemy armies"; or how the Revolution of 1830 was as much directed against the sinister influence of the "Congregation" as against King Charles X. himself?

In 1848, at the time of the great democratic upheaval throughout Europe, a part of the French Catholic Church, under the benevolent influence of Lamennais, **The Church in** of Lacordaire, and some other sincere **1848—** democrats, seemed to be ready to follow the generous current of modern democracy.

Then the trees of liberty that were planted in the central place of each village were consecrated by the priests, and the whole Republican Party were appealing to the Gospel. But only a few months later the Church was overwhelmingly on the side of reaction, repressing or expelling its democratic members. We find her entirely on the side of the pretender, Louis Napoleon, and participating in his sinister plots against democracy, which ended in the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851. Everybody remembers the eloquent verses of Victor Hugo denouncing in his *Chatiments* the part played by the Church in the assassination of the people's liberty. And a popular saying was, that during the night the priests were pouring destroying acids on the roots of the very trees of liberty which they had blessed two or three years before.

In contemporary France it has been the same. The Clericals were the most sanguinary in the repression of the Paris Commune, when 35,000 **—in the** Parisian working-men were shot down in **Commune—** cold blood. My father, Charles Longuet, was a member of this first proletarian government the world ever saw, and the editor of its official paper. He used to recount to me when I was a boy, and we were living as exiles in London, how the noble martyr of the Paris working classes, Varlin, while he was being conducted to the place where he was going to be shot, was attacked by a cruel mob egged on by a Catholic priest.

Under the same conditions the Boulangist plot against the Republic, in 1889-1890, was in the background supported by the clergy, while at the time of the Dreyfus —in the Dreyfus Affair. affair, fifteen years ago, if the Protestants were on the side of right, I need hardly recall the unfortunate attitude of the leaders of the Church, who tried to keep in penal servitude the innocent captain, whose only crime was that he belonged to the Jewish race.

The same tendency has repeated itself with our purely industrial Labour Movement. From the beginning the Trades' Unions, the leagues of resistance, the strikes of the exploited working classes found the Church on the side of the employers and capitalists. In the big textile centres of the North it took the form of "Our Lady of the Factory" Unions, which always opposed every genuine Trade Union effort. After that we had the notorious "yellow unions," a sort of black-leg association, created with the money of the Royalists and of the Clericals. May I add that from its very beginnings the French Socialist Party found in nearly every constituency the bitter political opposition of the Church?

**Socialist Reaction Against Anti-Clericalism.** However, it must at the same time be stated that the modern French Socialist Movement is, to a large degree, a reaction against the narrow and sectarian anti-clericalism of the old-fashioned republicans and radicals. By a natural but unfortunate sequence of thought the French bourgeois republicans had been often led from the position of self-defence against clerical aggression, to suspicion of all Catholic or even Christian belief, and in certain cases to mean persecution of the clergy.

The French Socialist Movement, and more especially those among its members who were more imbued with Marx's teaching, opposed from the beginning this "Religion a Private Affair." tendency and what remained of it among those French Socialists who were of radical origin, and who still maintained the intolerant anti-religious attitude of French Radicalism. More especially was this the case with our Freemasons. The Marxists



frequently recalled the maxim of the international Socialist : " Religion is a private affair," and reproached the radicals with giving to the people, instead of the social reforms they were asking for, a bill of fare consisting only of priest. That was their daily political meal !

In their propaganda the Marxists appealed to the workers, whatever their religious beliefs might be as workers, as they all had the same class interests. I may personally recall that, before being elected by a big industrial Paris suburb, I stood as a candidate for the French Parliament in the poor agricultural districts of the Aisne department—the very region which has for eight months been suffering the cruel yoke of the invader ! Though defeated, I brought the Socialist vote there from 2,400 up to 4,700, by telling the Catholic working-man that I had no quarrel with his religious beliefs, that I respected them, and that I was only opposing the conservative and capitalist policy of the Church.

### **The Marxian Attitude.**

In this direction of French politics the climax was reached in 1909, at a by-election in the Gard department (in the South), in the Uzes constituency, with the victory of my colleague, Compère-Morel. The place had been for several generations a constant battlefield between Republicans and Conservatives, the bulk of the republican vote coming from the Protestants, which represents one-third of this county's population, while the Catholics, many of whom were very poor working-men, voted regularly on sectarian grounds for the Royalist and Conservative candidate, who was the Duke of Uzes, whose mother, the celebrated Duchess, played an important part in the agitation of General Boulanger. There had been till that time only a very little Socialist movement in the constituency. M. Compère-Morel appealed to the Catholic proletarians as well as to the Protestants, and the Conservatives were so surprised at his success that they did not dare to put forward any candidate. M. Compère-Morel faced alone the Radical candidate, and defeated him on this unsectarian platform, with a large majority, to the great surprise of the general public and to the dismay of many Socialists.

Some time afterwards the same problem confronted the

Socialist Movement, when a Catholic priest, Abbé Vial declared himself a Socialist, and demanded his acceptance by a branch of the United Socialist Party. Many members, imbued with the old anti-clerical prejudices, were very indignant, and declared that it was not possible to admit the "black man" among Socialists. More especially it aroused the feelings of the Blanquist section of the movement, which is still influential in Paris, and which remembers the motto of the old barricade builder, Blanqui: "Ni Dieu! Ni Maître!" ("No God! No Master!"). Abbé Vial, finding a certain opposition to his admittance into a branch of the party in a Parisian quarter, did not, unfortunately, push the matter further. Meanwhile his ecclesiastic superiors censured him severely for his bad spirit, and we heard no more of this candid Catholic priest.

While I am recalling democratic or socialistic tendencies among orthodox Catholics, I must say a word of Count Albert de Mun's action. He belonged to the ranks of moderate Conservatism. He was a militarist, and to a large degree a Jingo. However he had a very sincere love of the people, and a very sincere detestation of the selfishness of the wealthy classes. At the time of the big railway strike in 1910, when a former Socialist, a very clever man with no principles, M. Aristide Briand, as Prime Minister, broke the back of the strike by illegally calling the strikers to the colours, Count Albert de Mun, to his eternal honour, protested in the most Conservative paper—the *Echo de Paris*—against the violation of the rights of the working-men, while the mass of the bourgeois republican free-thinkers approved of M. Briand's action. M. de Mun's own friends and the editor of the *Echo* himself were much annoyed at his plucky attitude. Whatever else he may have been, M. de Mun was a sincere Christian as well as a fervent patriot. But he always bitterly opposed modern Socialism and the International Labour Movement.

Among French Protestants we find a little group of men who have gone much further, and whose action I personally admire and respect. I am speaking of the sincere Christian Socialists of the type of M. Paul Passy, Pastor Wilfred Monod and Gounelle, who have been publishing a frankly Socialist little magazine, *l'Espoir du Monde* ("The

Hope of the World'') and have declared their complete adhesion to the cardinal points of the International Socialistic Movement. The most respected figure in the French Co-operative Movement, Professor Charles Gide, who is also a Protestant, belongs more or less to the same group, and has obtained great influence in all the working-men's societies.

Notwithstanding the reactionary and anti-democratic tendencies that have dominated, and are still dominating, the great Roman Church in France, and the opposition to all religious thought that has followed as a natural consequence among advanced parties, we have seen during the last ten years of the French Socialist and Labour Movement the growth of a true religious sentiment among some of our best men. Above all, I would mention the benign influence of two great men, who have, most unfortunately, been prematurely taken from us. One, Francis de Pressensé,

**Religion**  
**Advancing in**  
**French Labour.**

was of an old noble Protestant family, and although outside of any church, he remained to his last day a Christian and a Protestant of very liberal views. He was of a noble and disinterested nature, who for the love of justice came to Socialism, at the time of the big drama of the Dreyfus affair, because among the working classes alone had he found a party having sufficient disinterestedness and generosity to support the persecuted innocent, even though he was a rich capitalist officer. Francis de Pressensé was a deeply religious soul. He showed it in all the political battles he waged, and proud I am to have been at his side as a humble comrade in the campaign we waged against judiciary error when a Jew was the victim, as well as against the cruel Moslem sovereign who was destroying a Christian nation, unfortunate Armenia! My friend Moutet, who is now in London, and who is member for Lyons, could better tell you than I, the splendid and highly religious work which Pressensé has done in his League of the Rights of Men, a league of which he was leader, and which, under his leadership, reached one hundred thousand members.

But even more than by de Pressensé, the deepest religious feeling in the Socialist and Labour Movement of modern France was represented by our great and much-lamented leader, Jean Jaurès, the martyr of peace. He fell under the

bullet of a young and crazy clerical Royalist, just at the moment he was exerting every effort to save his country and humanity from the frightful woe which was coming on us with an awful rapidity. No man ever had a more religious soul than that beloved master of ours, the greatest orator of our time, the most far-seeing statesman, as well as the most kind-hearted man I ever met in my life. It was that great idealist leader of French Socialism who declared that he would not admit that natural and social life was all that belonged to man; he proclaimed the right for *all men to reach a religious conception of life*!

This I believe with Jaurès, and this belief is not in the least degree contrary to the fundamental teachings of modern Socialism. The *historical* materialism of Marx's Karl Marx, which is the summary of proletarian philosophy, has nothing to do with **Materialism** the *metaphysical* materialism of the eighteenth century or of Buchner and Haeckel. **Real Idealism.**

It is not a metaphysical explanation of the world and of humanity. As Marx himself wrote in comments on Feuerbach in 1845: "Till now philosophers have only been interpreting the world; we must change it." Historical materialism is an appeal to action, to emancipation. Nothing has more completely raised the modern working class above purely materialistic thought to the highest idealism, than the teaching of Marx and Engels disseminated all over the world by the International Socialist Movement.

As my friend, Amedee Dunois, one of the most promising Socialist journalists and writers of present-day France, said in a lecture before the Paris Society of **"Class-Churches."** *L'Union des Libre-Penseurs et des Libre-Croyants pour la Culture Morale* (The Union of Free Thinkers and Free Believers for Moral Culture): It is not because the people has become basely materialistic, that it has in France gone so far from the Churches, but because the Churches have in our country disregarded not only its material but its moral aspirations; because they have been class churches and have, without any revolt, accepted the monstrous injustice of capitalist society—with all its abominable vices—misery, destitution, crime, prostitution, and its natural climax of universal slaughter!



What the working class the world over love in Socialism is what Religion was in old times supposed to be striving after—Justice. It is to-day for millions of men a faith, a hope, a common purpose. In the black streets of our industrial towns, among our horrible slums, Socialism alone gives to men the two large wings which, according to the French philosopher, Taine, makes it possible for man to rise above himself.

**The Charm of Socialism.** In France, as everywhere else, the people may come back to Religion, if they see that Religion and the Churches are on their side, struggling on their side against their bitter sufferings and those who want to keep them in misery. But what the people hate is a religion which, under the pretext of love and Christian resignation, puts them, bound hand and foot, under the heel of their oppressors.

**The Horror of a Traitor-Religion.** In order to realise Socialism I do not think that it will be necessary to change only the material order of things. I adopted this too simple interpretation of Marxism when I began as a young militant member of my Party. To-day, like my eminent friend, M. Vandervelde, my very strong conviction is that we must also reform the soul and prepare men that will be worthy of the Socialist order.

**"We Must Also Reform the Soul."** If the Churches, going back to the old revolutionary spirit of Primitive Christianity, are prepared to take the side of the poor and the oppressed, if they will help us to make better human beings, by renewing their old experience of the human soul, let them do it! In such a holy effort all true Socialists will welcome them in France and throughout the world.





# The Voice of the Sea,

BY

## FATHER HOPKINS. \*

On Tuesday, May 4th, Father Hopkins said: When I come before an audience such as this I come, as it were, a sailor, a Christian sailor, from amongst sailors, to let you see the sailor's point of view of the question which is being considered.

As a Christian sailor and a Christian pastor, the thirty years of my life's ministry have been spent not amongst British seamen labourers only, but amongst seamen labourers of all the maritime nations of the world. Whatever may be said about the past or present antagonism felt and expressed on the Continent by the Labour Movement towards the Christian religion, it is a remarkable, and I think instructive, fact that when the representatives of the maritime unions of the world met in the interests of the advancement of the International Labour Movement, the man whom they chose to be their honorary secretary was a Christian minister of religion, myself. So that so far as the seafaring element is concerned, I claim to be able to speak in their behalf, and to voice their convictions and their sentiments.

At the very inception of their seafaring Labour Movement, it was upon a religious principle that sailors claimed the right to organise and to fight. There are people, of course, who say that the sailor is naturally superstitious. It is not superstition. There is something in the seaman's calling which causes him to see visions and dream dreams. The seaman on the look-out on the fo'c'sle head, the seaman at the wheel on the bridge, in days gone by, when he was the victim of exploitation, considered that he was a man, that he was entitled to the liberties of an ordinary man, and that his labour was entitled to adequate remuneration; so he rose up, combined with his brother seamen, and organised. And in the very forefront of the first handbill

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\*FATHER HOPKINS, born March 13th, 1860. Ordained priest 1884. Founded Seamen's Friendly Society of St. Paul 1884. Is trustee of National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, and hon. sec. to the corresponding International Union. Figured largely in the seamen's strike of 1911, and again in transport workers' London strike, 1912. Is a musician of no mean repute. Popularly known as the "Sailors' Sky Pilot."

that was ever issued was this text from Scripture : " Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them : for this is the law and the prophets." I claim this for the British seafaring man : although he has got his besetting sins, yet wherever he has gone, wherever he has shared the dangers of the deep with seafaring men of other nations, he has taken with him, and helped to inspire the seamen of other nations with a deep faith in God's presence, a deep hope in God's justice. I remember once

**The Sailor to the Child.** when I myself, as a little lad, was taken on deck in the midst of a great storm and lashed to the mizzenmast on the poop. I was there on the great wide seas alone, sent from father and mother on a long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope to come to England to go to school. There was the lightning flashing and the thunder rolling, and the uplifting of the ship on the great waves, and my little heart was sinking with fear and trouble. I wasn't thinking of God. My little lips were muttering, " O mother ! mother ! mother ! " And then it was that I felt upon my forehead the hard, rough hand of a so-called " common sailor." It seemed like a whisper in my ears, because he had to shout his hardest to make me hear : " Buck up, sonny ! " were his words, " the good God is on the sea as well as on the land, and He loves little children and will take care of you."

The Labour Movement has had for its great objective, I have always maintained, opportunity for every man to earn his daily bread and enough of it. And, whether labouring men have realised it or not, that claim is but the claim of a God-given right. Why, the Master Himself taught us to say, " Father, give us this day our daily bread." It is not only a Christian request. But every strike that has been an honest strike, every strike demanding an adequate return for the labour expended in order to secure a sufficiency of daily bread, has been a fight justified by religion, and religion as taught by Jesus Christ. How many hundreds of meetings have I not addressed, not only in England but in Continental seaports; and God is my witness that I have never yet, when I have addressed crowds of seafaring men, put that aspect of the case before them but they have risen in response, and seemed to glory in the privilege that they could justify what they were doing by the teaching of the Master, Jesus Christ. They were glad to feel that He was

with them and on their side. That was their great consolation and encouragement.

The seafaring Labour Movement started locally. A few men gathered together locally, brothers in a parish, brothers in a trade. But by and by their conception

**The Inter-national Vision.** deepened and widened out. It is no longer local, it is national. They struggle to co-operate rather than to compete. By and by it becomes not only local, not only national, it becomes international. There is an international realisation of the common right, of the common cause. By degrees it extends beyond the question of securing daily bread and enough of it through their labour. They become, as it were, possessed of a spirit, and they feel that they have something to do besides claiming their rights. When we get our rights we have got to rise to our responsibilities. There was breathed into the nostrils of the Labour Movement the breath of the life of the Christ, when it rose to realising responsibilities side by side with the acquisition of rights. By and by it deepens more still, it widens more still. The International Labour Movement sees a vision and dreams a dream. Its members have seen "a new heaven and a new earth." They have not seen only a new order, in which there was plenty to eat and drink, and no more sorrow and no more pain in the sense of going hungry to bed. They have dreamed dreams and seen visions of a new heaven and a new earth, where there is a universal brotherhood and a universal peace.

Isaiah dreamed dreams. Isaiah saw visions. I think the Master Christ Himself, when He was transfigured before His disciples, was transfigured by His own contemplation of the glory—not only His, but the glory which He was going to share with all those that were yet to come. There

**The Ideal of Brotherhood.** is the ideal and there is the real. The International Labour ideal to-day is not only plenty to eat, not only leisure, but an ideal of swords being beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks. What could be more religious than that? What could be more Christian than that? They may call it ethical, they may call it philosophical morality. But if it is ethics it seems to be the ethics of Jesus Christ. If it is philosophical morality, it is the philosophical morality of Jesus Christ. Christianity never borrowed it from an International Labour Movement. If it has been borrowed at all, it has been borrowed by the International Labour Movement

from the teachings of Jesus Christ. But, just as Christ was transfigured with joy, so also He wept with sorrow. So also the prophets who have seen visions and dreamed dreams that have carried them up into the highest heavens have come to earth again, and they have sweated great drops of blood and wept bitter tears.

That which I am contemplating to-night, religion in its relationship to the International Labour Movement, I see through the atmosphere of present conditions

### **The Fact of War.**

and present events. That atmosphere is the atmosphere of war. Shall I courageously tell you what my own honest convictions are? Shall I tell you what the convictions of the British seamen are to-day—the merchant seamen of the Labour Movement who have not hesitated to respond to their country's call, and are to-day on the great North Sea, or at the Dardenelles, on our ships of war and in the mine-sweepers? Some of them are to-day, as I have just seen a lad in hospital, all torn and broken and only just alive. In my contemplation of the real through the atmosphere of war, I have not lost one jot or tittle of my faith in the ideal which is to be. Nor have the sailors!

Let me at once say that, so far as the seafaring men are concerned, they are trying their utmost to carry out our

### **Kindness to Germans.**

prayer, in the sense of having no individual bitterness and no hatred. Here is an instance. "When they had come and attacked our trenches," writes a young soldier, "and we repulsed them, there were several Germans dead, scattered near our trenches. Some of our boys went out, within the zone of fire, on their hands and knees—not to bring back the British men, but to bring back the German dead and give them decent burial." These sons of toil placed the enemy's dead in a hurriedly made grave. "Could any man offer a prayer?" "No." But they managed somehow the Lord's Prayer. What should they put up over the grave? A little wooden cross. And they wanted to do honour to the German dead, so they painted on it rough letters, one little sentence of three words. Their German wasn't very good. The words were, "Gott mit uns," but they spelt it "Got mit uns." This little incident ought to be of the greatest consolation to us who have faith in God and in Christ in the midst of these awful perplexing times. The spirit of Christ is abroad, whether recognised or not. These were hardened



fellows, who perhaps often used a big, big " D " and other naughty forms of expression. But their hearts were right.

I myself stand just now all but alone in my brotherhood. All our physically fit brothers and associates and guildsmen have gone, either to the Army or the Navy. I have given them all leave to go. As the Superior-General of the Order of St. Paul I did not forbid them. If they felt the call to go they must go, and they have gone. I have also got many alien enemies in my care, to whom I am trying to manifest the consideration and love which Christ has asked us to manifest even towards our enemies. But what of the justification for Brothers of the Order of St. Paul going to fight, when we have preached the gospel of universal brotherhood and universal peace?

There is a foundation-stone and corner-stone and key-stone in the structure of the gateway opening into the promised land of universal peace, without

**Keeping Faith.** which there can be no certainty or guarantee of security. I have been for years reminding

our seafaring men in their Labour Movement that they must recognise honest fulfilment of a bargain as the foundation of their movement. The backbone of the Labour Movement is Trade Unionism. The great objective of Trade Unionism is collective bargaining. And the foundation and strength of progress is that when a bond is entered into the bond must be kept and not broken. In this great international movement along the international road towards universal disarmament and universal peace there has been talk, and conference, and undertaking, and agreement. There are those of us that rejoiced that certain of the smaller nations were guaranteed their independence and guaranteed that they should not be drawn into the strife between greater Powers. The greatest asset of the Trade Union Movement is the asset of credit. When they have made a bargain they must keep it and not break it. And the great asset of the international movement towards peace is the asset of credit, that when the nations have entered into an international compact the nations of the world will keep that compact.

Our seamen, in going to the Navy or into the mine-sweepers, to participate in this present war,

**Why we are  
Fighting.**

have not lost hope in the gospel of ultimate international peace. They have gone to fight the great Power that repudiated its undertaking and broke its agreement. I speak in no spirit



of bitterness or hatred. I have no hatred or bitterness. And although I am angry, please God I sin not. A great Power has perjured itself, and so blocks, or threatens to block, the road that leads towards the realisation of universal brotherhood and universal peace. Unless the Power that repudiated the bond is made an example of, the hope of the future will be less certain than in the past.

Now let me sum up. This is an address on the subject of the relation between religion and the International Labour Movement. The International Labour Movement stands not only for securing for every man, woman and child that breathes an adequate supply of daily bread, and by that is meant everything that makes for fulness of

**The  
International  
Gethsemane.**

life—it stands also for the new heaven and the new earth, for the universal brotherhood of man in which war shall cease and swords shall be beaten into plough-shares and spears into pruning-hooks. That is what the International Labour Movement stands for. And it seems to me that when you examine it under the X-Ray of comparative religions you have to acknowledge that it bears the sign and superscription of Jesus of Nazareth. Now we are in the midst of a great War, and there are some who say that the death-blow has been struck at this movement which breathes of international brotherhood and universal disarmament and peace. Not at all. In many respects it is the uprising of Labour itself to fight and punish the great Power that has violated its bond and blocked the road towards the attainment of the ideal. We are passing through a sort of international Gethsemane on towards an international Calvary, but the resurrection will surely come—the resurrection to a more certain hope, a more certain love, and a more certain brotherhood and peace.

Father Hopkins closed his address by deploring the temptations to which seamen sometimes succumbed, and the consequent drunkenness which hindered the prompt dispatch of troopships and the safety of submarine-menaced craft. He advised the shutting up without exception of every public-house down about the docks and in the seaports. He also would put every seafaring man engaged, however indirectly, in connection with the war, under naval instead of mercantile discipline. If it were put to the vote he believed the vast majority of seamen would vote for the closing of all public-houses. For they knew their weakness.

## Religion, Labour and Peace,

BY

**GEORGE N. BARNES, M.P. \***

On Wednesday, May 5th, Mr. G. N. Barnes was the speaker. After making a generous response to the God-speed, on his approaching visit to the United States, given by many voices, Mr. Barnes proceeded to deal with the subject matter of Religion in its relationship to the International Labour Movement. He said:—

Religion and the International Labour Movement ought to be as twins. Rather ought there to be an even closer relationship. They ought to be living in and inspiring one another. **The Founder of the Labour Movement.** The Founder of Christianity was also the Founder of the Labour Movement. And at all phases of the Labour Movement, from that day to this, Labour has always, in its most acute phases, been found to be in relationship with Religion. It has always found consolation in Religion.

My mind goes back, for instance, to the time in the year 1833 or 1834, when the Lovelaces were convicted at Dorchester Assizes for having been so wicked as to form a Trade Union of the poor agricultural labourers in the county of Dorset. One of the Lovelaces, after conviction in the dock, called for paper and pencil, and there and then wrote down what was really an inspired religious poem. In my own

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\*GEORGE N. BARNES, born at Lochee, 1859; attended Anglican school at Enfield; started work at ten in Ponder's End jute factory; was apprenticed as engineer at thirteen; at eighteen set out and followed his trade for fifteen years in Scotland, Lancashire and London; joined the A.S.E. 1881; married 1884; in 1892 entered the general office of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; contested, unsuccessfully, a seat in Rochdale in 1895; in 1895 elected General Secretary to the A.S.E.; headed the eight-hours' struggle in 1897; in 1899 helped to bring into being the National Pensions Committee; was elected for Blackfriars (Glasgow) in 1906; member of Soldiers' and Sailors' Pension Committee, 1914, and helped to secure higher pensions.

day and generation, I remember when the dock strike came.

**Manning.** We had had terribly hard times. They are hard enough now; they were a good deal harder then. The dockers for years had had to go down to the dock gates and literally scramble over one another for work. That came to a culmination in the great strike, which held up London for a long time. The strike was ultimately ended by the intervention of a godly and religious man in the person of Cardinal Manning. In all things, when it comes to extremities and people have to look at the bare elementary facts of life, they turn to religion.

To my mind, religion is a something altogether apart from and above all creeds and dogmas. And in so far as creeds and dogmas have anything in them

**My Idea of Religion.** that is good, they are to be found in the Sermon on the Mount. It is a wonderful and tragic thing, to my mind, that very often people's minds are confused and people themselves separated by complexities that overlay the truth. You do not find people confused and separated by the simple things; and as a rule the simple things have most truth in them. And, for my part, if I wanted any formula to define religion, I should say it could be found in the plain old injunction to "Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before God." That is my idea of religion.

The International Labour Movement is a movement the purpose of which is to give Labour its own place and voice in international councils, as the national

**Labour and War.** Labour Movements here and of other countries are to give Labour its own distinctive voice and place in the councils of each nation. The last few months have shown the absolute need of that. I am not saying that Labour is better than other classes in the community. I don't say that a working man is necessarily a better man than other men—although I believe that his simple life tends to make him a better man than other men. But I do say that Labour has its own interests and its own distinctive views, that ought to be put forward in international councils; and that if those views were put forward, and Labour's views and opinions were given their due weight, we should find less likelihood of wars taking place, and a greater chance of people being

left alone to pursue their peaceful vocations, as I believe the peoples everywhere want to do.

But, after all, that is only what might be called the negative side of the question. There is a positive and a constructive side, as well as a negative side.

**An Agent of  
Spiritual  
Evolution.**

A great many people who are in the International Labour Movement are in a movement the greatness and ultimate splendour of which they wot not. I believe there are many men and women in the International Labour Movement who are building better than they know. The International Labour Movement is the agent of evolution—an evolution which brings the peoples together, and is destined to infuse an element of spirituality into international affairs. It is not only the material side, but also the other side, that I welcome.

I am not unmindful of other people who have contributed their share. I know that pastors have gone from this country to other countries, and have fraternised with

**To Unify and  
Uplift Mankind.** pastors there. I know that editors of newspapers have gone to other countries and fraternised with the editors there. These things are all good and of value. They have all contributed a little to bringing people together, or more together than they would otherwise have been. But all these movements are sectional. They are but the wings. The Labour of every country is the body of that country ; and it is only as the bodies are brought together that we find the peoples united. The International Labour Movement and the agencies connected with it must necessarily be of greater importance. To work for the unifying of peoples, and to work for the uplifting of peoples, are distinctively religious acts. And they form the distinctive aim of the International Labour Movement.

What are the material essentials of a clean, religious life? They are perfectly simple—good air, good food, some leisure, and freedom from the fear of want. In olden

**Material Needs  
of Religion.** times there was an idea, and it was enjoined, that people should be poor in order to lead a religious life. Conditions then must have been far different from what they are now. Probably there was not the push and rush of life that there is now, and therefore, although people were poor, they had not the fear of



want ever present to their minds. And probably they had time for contemplation. The poor man now has

**No Time for Contemplation.** no time for contemplation. In the rush and tear and hurry of ordinary commercial and industrial life a poor man gets but little chance for that. And the temptation is ever present to him not to do justly, not to act mercifully, because he is always running the risk, in so far as he does so, of being pushed further down into the abyss. And therefore the International Labour Movement, in so far as it is working—as it is working—for the uplifting of the people, and freeing them from the fear of poverty, is to that extent doing something to develop the religious sense. For that reason Labour and Religion ought everywhere to be in a relation of mutual helpfulness.

I want to say a few words about what our friend Vandervelde said the other night. Several things that he said struck me. He said, for instance, that the religion

**The Religion of Brotherhood.** of Christianity was the religion of Brotherhood. It is quite true. It is a truism. Christ first, in historic times at all events, did affirm the essential unity of mankind. It has been affirmed often since, by poets and prophets of all times. It was affirmed by Burns negatively when he asked :—

“ If I’m designed, yon lordlings’ slave  
By nature’s law designed,  
Why was an independent wish  
E’er planted in my mind? ”

But Christ was before all the poets and prophets in affirming the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God. I thought that was put beautifully by our friend Vandervelde.

But there were one or two things he said which I was rather sorry to hear. He said, for instance, that Roman Catholicism was the religion of authority and

**A Tribute to Catholics.** that the Protestant religion was the religion of liberty. Now I was sorry to hear that. It so happens that right away from my earliest days I have been thrown a great deal into contact with Roman Catholics. I remember in the town of Dundee, in which I was brought up, there was a great Roman Catholic church. I noticed about that church that it was almost the only one which people attended—I lived in a main street of the town



and could see all the people going to church—who were not dressed in respectable black with tall hats and with Bibles under their arms. I found going to that Roman Catholic church both the well-to-do mill-owner and the mill-worker. And ever since that impression has remained with me.

I remember a parson in a church at Fulham. I was connected with a little class of some sort or other when I was there. Something had given us offence. We

**Early** decided to have a "round robin" and send  
**Impressions.** a protest to the parson. A very fine man he was. We sent in our "round robin."

It was duly discussed with the parson. Whereupon he read us a bit of a homily, and told us that a "round robin" was not a method that he would commend to anybody, because there was nothing to indicate in a "round robin" who started it, and it was a way of shielding a person from responsibility. I have never signed a "round robin" since, and I suppose that is more than thirty years ago!

It happens, too, I have been thrown in contact with Catholics in Glasgow. I know the sacrifices that Catholics are making in this country because of their

**Honour to the** sincere desire to teach through their Church  
**Nun.** the faith in which they believe. I know the

sacrifices made by those humble women who go about doing good. I never pass one of these nuns but I take off my hat, if it can be done without ostentation. There are many other things about the Catholic practice—I don't know anything about their faith—that commend it to me. Therefore I am always sorry to hear people talk slightly about Catholics.

The Catholic religion does involve a more collective application than any other religion. It requires from its adherents a greater degree of resignation—too much, I think, by-the-bye. That occurred to me very strongly some

**Intolerance and** time ago, when I saw a man who holds a  
**Monopoly.** very high position in the world of politics,

who in my presence met a cardinal; whereupon I saw this great man get down upon his bended knee and kiss the hand of the cardinal. I did not like that, I honestly confess. And if M. Vandervelde had only referred to that sort of thing, then I should not have been at all inclined to disagree. But he did not. He meant it to apply in

the world of temporality, to political things. I am inclined to think that his experience had been such, and the object lessons that had come before him had been such, as to make him speak in the way he did. I believe it is largely an accident that makes the Catholics on the Continent the Conservative Party in public affairs; and, on the other hand, makes the Protestant Party the one which stands for progress. I have noticed that where any particular church covers the whole of a particular community, you very often find intolerance.

We in this country have no particular ascendancy, except in the rural districts of England; and I think that may be called the ideal condition.

It is unusual for me to talk upon these matters. As I said last Saturday, religion is to me a matter of doing things and not talking about them. But I am glad to have been here, and glad to have served this little apprenticeship to a job of this sort. I am going away to America. I hope I shall be doing good work there. In any case, I can assure you I shall be thinking of you when I am there.

There is one thing that I regret being away for just now. Next Tuesday week is the sixteenth anniversary of the First

### **The Third Hague Conference.**

There is a good deal of discussion going on just now, not only as to the terms upon which the war in which we are now engaged will be settled, but on how best to prevent such a catastrophe again overtaking us. That is exceedingly important. I am inclined to think that the two things will have to be dealt with separately, entirely separately. We shall have to settle the war on such terms as we can; and for my part I should go on fighting until France and Belgium were liberated. But after that, what do we want to do? We want to set up some machinery by which the moral sense of the world may be made effective. How is it to be done? You don't want to set up new machinery. There are people in this country who have a mania for setting up new committees. There are committees, and talk of still more committees, for the prosecution of this war. They are overlapping one another, and therefore tending to inefficiency. You have in the Hague Conference itself the nucleus of the machinery for putting the moral sense of the world into full operation. I am the more sorry to be away on the occasion of the anniversary of the First Hague

Conference, because Mr. Stead made a suggestion the other day which seemed to me to be a very good one. We ought to be beginning to lay the foundations for the Third Hague Conference, and we ought to be beginning to think about what the Third Hague Conference is going to do. I think it has got to do a great deal. Mr. Stead has arranged that in this hall, which has inaugurated already so many good movements, and has helped so many more, a meeting should be held on the anniversary of the Hague Conference, and a lead should be given as to the work of the Third Hague Conference. People should be invited to take part in that movement.

I am not concerned with the question who is to convene the Hague Conference. America would be the most suitable country, because America, happily so far, is

**U.S. as** out of this present "scrap." It is the  
**Convener.** largest, the most democratic, and the most

free country in the whole world, excepting perhaps the Scandinavian countries. They are more free because they have taken women into the electorate. I believe in taking in women to help in making the laws. I believe therefore that the Scandinavian countries will develop more rapidly than any other countries in democratic ideas. I say this because of our experience in industrial matters. Wherever you find women entrusted with a share in making conditions in which things are carried on you find a larger degree of sympathy. I won't say a larger degree of intelligence. But I believe that intelligence, after all, comes second. But you find a clearer intuition of what is wanted for the good of mankind. Therefore I look with great hopefulness to the Scandinavian countries making more progress than any other. But they are small. So America would seem to be the most suitable power to call the Hague Conference when it meets again.

I hope that the Third Hague Conference will outlive the failure of the second one. After all, the second Hague Conference did not meet under conditions that

**Personnel and** admitted of success. As you know, all the  
**Programme.** Continental countries were then arming  
 against one another; most of them were  
 already armed to the teeth. Our late Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who was a man perhaps as

much as anyone in the country in favour of peace and of doing everything that could be done for peace, yet found his hands tied. He had to send men across to The Hague with their hands tied too, and not the most suitable men were sent to the Conference. I should like to see the next Hague Conference composed not of third-rate or even second-rate men, but of the first-class men of every country in the world. I should like to see them coming together determined to evolve some scheme by which the moral sense of the world should be made effective in absolutely abolishing war. It may be that even after the next Hague Conference there will be some material force at hand in order to see that no country sets at nought the moral sense of mankind. At all events, something must be done to make a repetition of what has been going on for the last nine months absolutely impossible.

Browning Hall has done many good things in the past. I venture to say that if it could only inaugurate a movement in this country calculated to make the next Hague Conference the crowning success that we all wish it to be, Browning Hall would have done the best thing which even it has ever done. I hope that from this hall there may be sent out a message which will ring round the country and help to bring about the time of which Tennyson spoke, the time when

“The war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flags are furl’d  
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the world.  
Where the commonsense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,  
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.”



## British Labour and the War,

BY

**G. H. ROBERTS, M.P.\***

On Thursday, May 6th, the speaker was Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P. He said:—Last year I had the presumption to don the prophet's mantle, and to predict that we were on the eve of a great spiritual revival. War clouds had not

then gathered. Civilised people had not then decided to embrace each other in deadly grasp. And perhaps, if we only had regard to the happenings of the past nine months, we might be inclined to dim our faith, and I would feel that the prediction I made last year had no warrant for it. Nevertheless, I am reminded of Shakespeare's famous text, "There is a soul of goodness in things evil"; and I believe that our nation and others are now passing through a grave trial. Nevertheless, it is not all loss. I see great signs of goodness and better understanding in the nation. Certainly a remarkable spirit of unity has characterized the nation during the past nine months. I believe love alone to be the solvent of great problems. I regret the growing sense of class hatred in our midst. If we are Christians, if we believe that Christian relationships should be established between nations, certainly to be either just or logical we ought to decree that Christian principles shall determine the relationship of classes within our own shores. And if the happenings of the past nine months, dire and dreadful as they have been, have really contributed to the softening of social and economic relationships here, then there is something to set against the terrible loss of life and the great expenditure of treasure during that period.

I am a peace advocate. I have joined with your warden

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\*GEORGE HENRY ROBERTS, born near Norwich, 1869, educated at elementary school, evening classes, higher grade school, technical school, institute college; apprenticed as printer and compositor, 1883; overseer of Colman's printing works, 1892-1904; has been President and Secretary of the Norwich Branch of the Typographical Association. President of the Norwich and District Trades and Labour Council; organiser of the Typographical Association since 1904; member of the Norwich School Board, 1899 to 1903; first elected for Norwich 1906; became Lord Commissioner of the Treasury in the Coalition Government, June, 1915.



in conveying fraternal greetings to the peoples of Germany,  
 We there, in the name of the British people,  
**War and the** assured them of our desire to live in har-  
**Christian** monious understanding with them. And we  
**Conscience.** meant all that we told them. And we would  
 like to think that those sentiments had been

reciprocated in as cordial a manner as we had bestowed them. But when the war broke out, every Christian was sorely tried. I believe war to be wrong. I believe it to be the immorality of civilisation. But after all there comes an occasion when we are not quite free to act in accord with the higher law. I asked myself, "What is my duty in this great crisis?" I hate and abhor war. But I believe there is something worse even than war, and that is, individual and social dishonour. And I came to the conclusion that had my country refrained from accepting the challenge issued to it, then it would have suffered as a nation an irreparable blow. There are some people who say that war should never be engaged in by any Christian. I have heard some people during the past few months urge that sentiment very strenuously; but previously I had not observed their activity in promoting Christian purpose. We must judge people by their motives at least as much as by their utterances. I admit the right of any man to accept a blow or an insult to himself. That is merely a matter of his individual concern. But I deny the right of any man to stand calmly by while a woman is being dishonoured or a child ill-treated. If we feel that there is any analogy there, we can derive some justification for the enterprise on which we have embarked. We as a nation had our international obligations. I am not going to discuss them

here to-night. I am simply endeavouring to  
**Sanctity of** deal with my subject from the standpoint of  
**Contracts.** Christianity and Labour. But nevertheless,  
 obligations of all sorts ought to be honoured.

I have preached throughout the Trade Union and the Labour Movement that when we have entered into agreements with our employers, even if we have not secured all that we desire, yet we are in honour bound to abide by those agreements. During the past few years we have been considerably troubled because sections of people exhibited a willingness to dishonour those undertakings, when they saw a chance of achieving a temporary advantage. I have said to my class, "I appreciate to the full the desirability of your diverting more of the

national wealth into your homes and your lives. But the loss to character by a dishonouring of your obligation would far transcend the merely economic gain you would make in that circumstance." Therefore, if I have accepted that rule to guide me in my ordinary relationships, I feel that it is good enough to apply even to international concerns. A great nation—a nation not so great as we had thought it to be—a mighty nation from the standpoint of resource, wonderfully disciplined, remarkably equipped for the prosecution of war—Germany is yet a small nation compared with what I thought it to be in the days of peace. This great nation felt that in the pursuit of its purposes it might abrogate every international law. The findings of the Hague Convention have altogether been discarded. And

**Criminal  
Germany.**

so long as they could see a speedy way of attaining their great ambitions no considerations of right or law was allowed to deter them. They say to a little country like Belgium, "We are going to march through your territory, in order to strike a blow at our enemy." Belgium replied, "I am a country, not a road; you must have my sanction before passing your armies and your equipment through my country." And who will deny that Belgium was right? For there was exhibited the real soul of a small people. It was not a fighting race traditionally, not a nation of warriors; but a small nation that had entered into undertakings with her friends, and was at all costs prepared to honour her obligations. "We have conquered you, desolated and devastated you," says Germany. But, we reply, Belgium is not conquered, Belgium cannot be conquered, because Belgium has conquered the world, from the standpoint of everything that matters everlastingly. Then I always feel that the occasions on which a man can help his country by assisting her enemies are very exceptional; and this is not one of those occasions. I believe that our country, at any rate, as far as my knowledge of its people is concerned, was peace-loving and anxious for peace. I believe history will acknowledge that, short of bemeaning ourselves, we strove in every way humanly possible to preserve peace. But war is here with us.

Yet I see no signs of hatred throughout the country. I have not witnessed any of those "Mafficking" demonstrations which disgraced the period of the South African War. Those two hundred members of your Settlement have not

joined the Colours with any lust of blood, or desire to destroy, but because they believe they are called to perform a duty of great hazard, a duty that strictly conforms to the Christianity with which they have been associated.

**No British  
Hatred.**

To-night I happen to be speaker in a remarkable series of meetings, international in character. We have extended to visitors from other countries a cordial welcome, and assurances of enduring friendship. We want friendly relationships to be re-established. But, in my opinion, those who talk of peace at this stage are not really contributing to the peace of the world, nor to enduring friendliness. Peace too eagerly sought is not necessarily soon attained. "Negotiate Germany out of Belgium," say some. That is almost a fatuity. Will Germany go out of Belgium simply by asking? If a bully enters my house to harm my wife and child, should I stand by and see him commit his fell purposes, and beg him to act in a brotherly fashion, when I know he won't do it? The only argument that will prevail here is the argument to which Germany herself is devoted.

**Force  
Sometimes  
Necessary.**

"Might is right," she has said. Some of her philosophers have decreed that Christianity is a soft and decadent thing; that the British people are a declining race. If we were to adopt such a foolish policy, we would have justified everything that German philosophers have urged against our people. Germany has got to be thrust back out of France and Belgium by force.

I am hoping that a Hague Conference will shortly be held. But we must never more be deceived by the passing of mere pious resolutions. We must have the assurance that there is the ability to carry out those resolutions. As I have read the findings of these Hague Conferences, I have observed that the German representatives have been amongst the foremost in urging proposals for restraining possible outbreaks of war, and for the pursuance of war on humane principles. And yet to-day Germany stands indicted of breaking every one of those findings, and of having gone to an extreme to which we never conceived even barbaric peoples could have descended.

What are we to do in this great juncture? In my opinion peace demands—that is, future peace—that we shall wage

this war so that the Germans shall learn a lesson in the only manner that great peoples sometimes will learn, and that is through positive experience. If they have that experience forced upon them maybe it will release them from some of the fetters now binding them, and they will realise that, after all, peace and friendliness can never be preserved by bloated armies or navies, but that those principles must be founded on a recognition of law; law having moral sanctions, and, temporarily maybe, made effective by some show of force, as exemplified in an international army and navy. And to-night we pray for a hastening of that period. We want this time to pass quickly, because we want peace.

But, after all, what do we mean by peace? Peace does not exist simply because we ask for it, or simply because we pray for it. I believe that there is more peace on the battlefields in France and Belgium than can be found throughout the whole of this civilised world. A relative of

mine, a fine young fellow, joined the Army. He has given his life for what he deemed to be the cause of Right. I have to visualise his passing, and I am sure that he went with a feeling of profound peace, a peace of the soul quite distinct from any consideration of political peace. And if, as I believe, he so went into the presence of his Creator, I am certain that peace can be found even on battlefields. That ultimately is our great purpose—to obtain not merely laws having force-sanction as between nations, but conditions which will give real peace to all the peoples of the world.

This war is bringing to the surface many great problems. The nation is being revealed to itself. It will be no longer possible for any class or party to deny the

existence or the dimensions of those great problems. We have found here that some, whilst urging others to make patriotic sacrifices, have availed themselves of the nation's need in order to enrich themselves. By so doing, they are harming the people of their own country, and we will have to see to it that the power of individual enrichment at the expense of other units shall be limited, and ultimately eliminated from society. We have found that an inflation of the cost of living—part of it unavoidable, having regard to this great world-dislocation



—has further depressed the poverty-stricken classes in society, so that, despite an intense patriotism, they have been driven almost to the verge of revolt. In my part of the country the agricultural labourer has had to take this opportunity of national emergency in order to bare his soul and to reveal his conditions to the whole world. It is your duty and mine to see that not only does war between nations become an impossibility in the future, but that war between the classes in our country shall at any rate be softened and ultimately extirpated.

There is growing throughout the country a very strong resentment against the reports of the treatment of British prisoners in Germany. For weeks, ay, for months, I refused to believe that any civilised nation would exhibit vindictiveness to unfortunates placed within its power. But it seems impossible to ignore these charges altogether. There seems sufficient evidence to compel us to believe that grave hardship and harshness are being inflicted on some of our fellow-citizens who happen to have fallen into the clutches of the enemy. Many Christian men and women are now urging that reprisals should be entered upon, and that we should do unto German prisoners in this country as, it is alleged, is being done unto our brothers in Germany. I hope that we will be able to prevent that. I am sure that if we make it known to the authorities that that would be repugnant to our sense of British character and Christian principle, then we will be able to protect those unfortunate people against this wave of resentment. I am one of six members of the House of Commons appointed by the War Office to visit the several concentration camps in which civilian aliens and German prisoners of war are interned. We are charged with the duty of inquiring into the conditions prevailing in those camps, and assuring ourselves that these men are being humanely treated; that the rations supplied to them by the Government are received by the men; and if we can make any recommendation, within limits, to brighten their lot, we are allowed to do it. I am pleased to say here in public that without exception we find those camps splendidly conducted; great regard is given to cleanliness and sanitation, food is good and ample, and, over and beyond all that, experience has given me an admiration for the British officer that I had never previously entertained.



The commandants in charge of those camps are men of profound human quality, anxious to treat the prisoners in their charge in real human fashion, and with the utmost consideration. I am sure that a continuation of that policy is the right thing. After the war is over, it will stand to the credit of our people that they resisted this unholy demand for reprisals, and that they continued true to their claims of humanity, and acted justly, even under great provocation.

I am very glad to have renewed my acquaintance with you. Of late I have been a bit apprehensive of meetings of this character; for just as the war has  
**The Attitude of** destroyed friendly relationship between  
**Labour.** peoples, so it has cut athwart even the great

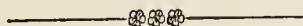
Labour Movement. Unfortunately we have had to admit that there are divisions in its ranks. Whatever may be those divisions, I want to say here that the majority of my colleagues with whom I stand have entertained the same abhorrence of war as heretofore. Their conduct in assisting the war at this juncture to secure a victory is animated with the belief that until Prussian militarism has suffered a great and unquestioned reverse there will be no possibility of peace in the world. Even if you succeeded just now in thrusting Germany out of Belgium, and left her intact,

I am afraid that she would renew her pre-  
**Two Empires** parations, because she has not merely a  
**Contrasted.** desire to go to war, but a great passion to achieve what she regards as the central position in the world. She argues that, just as other Empires have declined, so the British Empire must fall. But she has to understand this, that in these days of education and research we are able to find what were the causes of the break-up of other empires, and endeavour in our day to avoid those causes, and so to keep the Empire intact. I believe that the Empire here demonstrates to the whole world that it is not armies that make greatness, it is not force that binds people together; but the most enduring tie is that of understanding and love. The British Colonies could detach themselves from the Mother Country if they wished. No force on our part could keep Canada an integral part of the British Empire. But Canada desires to remain with us. Why? Because she has, under our constitution, full liberty, and under that she developed an ethical kinship which will resist all the sophis-

tries and blandishments of the greatest German philosophers that were ever created.

We have not yet lost our faith in the principle and spirit of peace. We are yearning for emergence from this great war in order that that principle may be established on firmer foundations, and that that spirit may wander the world without fetters. It may be, that all the broader conceptions of peace that we have foreshadowed here to-night may not be realised in our own lifetime. But just as I am certain that this war will contribute to peace among the peoples, so it is I am certain your work will contribute to peaceful understandings between the peoples of the world. And when your work is fully bearing fruit—it may be another generation or two—at least we shall pass away with this knowledge, that

“ Others shall sing the song,  
Others shall right the wrong,  
Finish what I begin,  
And all I fail of, win.”



## **Die Social-Demokratie und das offizielle Christenthum :**

**VON HANS WIRZ.**

Hans Wirz was the speaker promised and announced for Friday, May 7th. Later he found himself unable to come, but sent his address:—

Den Dank für die freundliche Einladung, die mich heute zu Ihnen sprechen lässt, möchte ich verbinden mit dem Ausdruck der hohen Achtung und Sympathie, welche in weitesten Kreisen meiner Heimat gehegt werden für das in seinen staatlichen politischen Einrichtungen nicht weniger als die Schweiz demokratische England.

Seine freundschaftlich-tatkräftige Gesinnung, von der die Geschichte der Schweiz so manchen erfreulichen Beweis verzeichnet, bewährt sich auch in dieser Zeit der Kriegsnothe, welche die Schweiz wirtschaftlich ebenfalls sehr bedrängen und in Mitleidenschaft ziehen.

Die sozialdemokratisch organisirte Arbeiterschaft dieses inmitten der vom Kriegsbrand erfassten mächtigen Nachbarn gelegenen kleinen schweizerischen Friedenseilandes hat sich die Aufgabe gestellt, in der Verwirrung, die im gegenwärtigen Kriege gerade die sogenannten ersten und grössten Kulturstaaten mit unsäglichem Bruderkampfe schlägt, die bisher unter den Arbeitern aller Länder bestanden inter-

# Social Democracy and Official Christianity: Why Both Have Failed,

BY

**HANS WIRZ.\***

The address by Hans Wirz for Friday, May 7th, read as follows:—

I thank you for the kind invitation which enables me to address you. Let me add an expression of the deep respect and sympathy which is cherished in the widest circles of my country for England. Yours is a country no less democratic than my own in august political institutions. The history of Switzerland affords many proofs of England's effective friendliness; and the same spirit is being shown to-day, even amid the distress due to the war, which causes Switzerland grave economic loss and makes her a partner in your sufferings.

Switzerland is a little island of peace, surrounded on all sides by powerful neighbours ablaze with war. Great is the confusion which the present war, with its unspeakable fratricide, has inflicted on the States which are supposed to be first and greatest in civilisation. Under these trying circumstances, the organised Labour of the Swiss Social Democracy has undertaken the task of maintaining the inter-

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\*HANS WIRZ was born in Gossan, in the Canton of Zürich. He obtained his education in the public elementary schools. On leaving school he became a bookbinder. He worked at this trade in different lands. When nineteen years old he joined the Trade Union Movement, and became employed on the Trade Union and political Press. Later he devoted himself to the printing of books. Since 1901 he has been in charge of the editorship of the Social Democratic *Zürcher Anzeiger*. In 1906 he became editor of the *Grütlianner*, the central organ of the Social Democratic Party in Switzerland and of the Swiss Grütliverein. From 1904 to 1907 he was a member of the great City Council of Zürich. Since 1905 he has been a member of the Council of the Canton of Zürich.

nationalen Beziehungen aufrecht zu halten, sie weiter zu pflegen und wieder herzustellen, wo eine Entfremdung eingetreten ist.

Sie ist dabei von dem festen Glauben beseelt und geht von der Voraussetzung aus, dass trotz allem Schweren, das gerade die internationalen Verbindungen und Bestrebungen der Arbeiter mit dem Kriege betroffen hat, doch und auch in Zukunft nur die Verbrüderung der Arbeiter der ganzen Welt es sein wird, die den endlichen Völkerfrieden herbeiführen und verbürgen kann.

Darum legt die organisirte Arbeiterschaft der Schweiz so hohen Wert auf eine erneute Verständigung der Bruderparteien aller Länder und darum ist sie in diesem Sinne tätig und stets zur Vermittlung bereit.

Wir hatten so grosse Hoffnungen auf die Erhaltung und Förderung des Friedensgedankens und der Friedensbestrebungen durch die internationale Arbeiterbewegung gesetzt, als im Herbst 1912 im Münster in Basel die sozialistische Internationale tagte.

Kirchenglocken läuteten die mächtigen Versammlungen ein, an denen in allen Zungen die Notwendigkeit friedlicher Vereinbarung unter den Völkern betont wurde.

Und noch klingen in den Ohren der Teilnehmer die herrlichen Worte, die ein Jean Jaurès, ein Keir Hardie, Viktor Adler und andere zu uns gesprochen von dem unbedingten und unerschütterlichen Friedenswillen der Arbeiter und ihrer festen Entschlossenheit, den Weltfrieden mit allen zu Gebote stehenden Mitteln zu schützen und zu wahren.

Die grossartige Erhebung, die von dieser Kundgebung ausging, teilte sich auch Kreisen mit, die sonst nichts oder nur wenig gemeinsam haben wollen mit den Wegen und Zielen der Sozialdemokratie.

Es schien, als ob die in Basel von englischen, deutschen, italienischen, österreichischen, französischen und all den übrigen Vertretern des in der sozialdemokratischen Internationale verbündeten Proletariates so klar und deutlich und unzweifelhaft zum Ausdruck gebrachte Willenseinheit sich wirklich als der starke unüberflutbare Damm gegen die damals schon in drohende Nähe gerückte Gefahr eines Weltbrandes erweisen werde, wie er heute nun die Völker Europas auseinander reisst.



national relations previously prevailing between the workers of all countries, to foster them with more care, and to restore them where estrangement has appeared.

It is at the same time animated with the firm faith and rooted conviction that, in spite of every difficulty with which the war has embarrassed the international associations and endeavours of the workers, the fraternisation of the workers of the whole world still offers, and will offer, the only possible means of procuring and safeguarding the final peace of the nations.

Therefore the organised Labour of Switzerland puts so high a value on a renewed understanding between the brother-parties of all countries. Therefore it works in this spirit, and is always ready to mediate.

We had set high hopes on the maintenance and advancement of the idea of peace, and of efforts for peace, by means of the International Labour Movement, when the Socialist International held its sittings in Basel Cathedral in the autumn of 1912. Church bells rang in the momentous assemblies, which emphasised in all languages the necessity of peaceful union among the nations. And still there sound in the ears of those who were present the glorious words which a Jean Jaurès, a Keir Hardie, a Victor Adler spoke to us of the workers' absolute and immovable purpose of peace, and of their firm determination to defend and to preserve the peace of the world by every means at their command.

The grand exaltation of soul which this announcement created was shared by circles which else had desired to have nothing, or at best only a little, in common with the ways and aims of the Social Democracy. It seemed as if the unity of purpose, which was so clearly and plainly and unhesitatingly expressed at Basel by English, German, Italian, Austrian, French, and all the other representatives of the proletariat then combined in the Social Democratic International, would really prove a strong, insurmountable dam against the danger of a world-inundation which was then menacingly near, and which has to-day swept the peoples of Europe asunder.

Wir glaubten im Lichte der Sonne zu wirken,—da kam, uns alle überraschend und überwältigend, die Nacht des Kriegausbruches, die den Erfolg jedes Wirkens für die Erhaltung des Völkerfriedens zu nichte machte.

Die Nacht, welche auch die Internationale der sozialistischen Arbeiterbewegung mit völliger Machtlosigkeit schlug.

So schien der Zusammenbruch alles dessen vollständig, worauf die Menschheit Europas ihre stärkste Zuversicht auf die Abwendung einer Katastrophe stützte, die so viele von uns bereits als einen unmöglichen Rückfall in vergangene Zeiten eines niedrigeren Kulturniveaus betrachteten, als es die heutige Menschheitsentwicklung erreicht habe.

Und unstreitig! Die beiden Faktoren, die ihrer ganzen Natur nach als die festesten Bollwerke für den Frieden und gegen den Krieg zuerst zur Geltung kommen müssten, versagten: Sozialdemokratie und Christentum.

Dass letzteres überhaupt erst an zweiter Stelle in der Bewegung für den Frieden und gegen den Krieg genannt werden kann, ist eine Tatsache, die nicht den kleinsten Teil der Mitverantwortung und Mitschuld an der Gestaltung und Zuspitzung aller jener politischen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse trägt, die den Weltkonflikt in seiner ganzen schauerlichen Grösse zeitigten.

In ihm offenbart sich—mehr noch als jener der Sozialdemokratie— der Zusammenbruch des offiziellen Christentums.

Unter den vielen Antworten auf die Frage, warum die Sozialdemokratie wider alles Erwarten nicht zu erfüllen vermochte, was sie als höchste Aufgabe sich gestellt, tritt immer lebendiger die eine in den Vordergrund, nach der es der äusserlich in ihren Formen so grossen und gewaltigen Internationale an der geistigen Kraft gefehlt habe, die allein zur praktischen Durchführung ihres Willens zu befähigen und einem Ansturm Stand zu halten vermöge, wie der über sie hereingebrochene: die aus der religiösen Ueberzeugung von der christlichen Mission, welche die Arbeiterbewegung

We believed we were working in the light of the sun.

**Collapse in  
1914.**

Then came, surprising and overpowering us all, the dark outburst of war, which brought to naught the result of every effort for the maintenance of peace among the peoples: a dark night indeed, which smote even the International of the Socialist Labour Movement with utter powerlessness.

The collapse seemed to be complete of everything on which European mankind had based its strongest confidence for the prevention of a catastrophe which so many of us had come to regard as an impossible relapse into the bygone times, and to a level of civilisation far below that attained by the present-day development of humanity.

**A Double  
Failure.**

Indisputably so! Both the factors, which, by their very nature must first be taken into account as the firmest bulwarks of peace and against war, failed—Social Democracy and Christianity. The latter can only be named in the second rank in the movement for peace and against war. That is a fact which bears by no means the least share of joint responsibility and joint guilt in the forming and bringing to a head of those political and economic relations which precipitated the world-conflict in all its appalling magnitude.

In this is revealed the collapse of official Christianity. That is more evident than the collapse of the Social Democracy.

Among the many answers to the question, why the Social Democracy, contrary to all expectation, had not been able to accomplish what it had set before it as

**Why Social  
Democracy  
Failed.**

its highest task, one of the answers comes ever more vividly in the foreground. The International, so great and powerful externally in its forms, failed in the spiritual power which alone is able to qualify for the practical execution of its will, and to resist such an assault as has broken in upon it. This spiritual power is none other than the power of faith, which is supplied to us from the knowledge of Jesus, a power growing out of the religious conviction of the Christian mission which the Labour Movement has

in geistiger und materieller Hinsicht zu erfüllen hat, erwachsende Kraft des Glaubens, die aus der Erkenntnis Jesu zu schöpfen ist.

Es fehlte unserer Arbeiterbewegung, was Lavater, ein zürcherischer Pfarrer und Zeitgenosse Goethes mit den Worten sagt: Wir mögen ganz zuversichtlich glauben, dass Christus die äussersten Grenzen aller göttlichen und menschlichen Kraft und Wahrheit dachte, wenn er sprach: Ohne mich (oder ausser mir) könnt ihr nichts tun!

Die Arbeiterbewegung aber stand und steht noch ausser dieser sieghaften Kraft und Wahrheit.

Mit ihr und neben ihr auch das offizielle Christentum, wie es sich in dem heutigen Kirchentum präsentiert, speziell in Deutschland, aber zum Teil auch in der Schweiz.

Statt die Uebereinstimmung der treibenden Kräfte zu erkennen und zu erfassen, wie sie in der Lehre Christi zum Ausdruck kommen sollten und in der Arbeiterbewegung tätig sind, hat das offizielle Christentum sich der Arbeiterbewegung stets eher feindlich als verständnisvoll entgegenkommend gezeigt, ja sie als etwas mit Religion und Christentum direkt in Widerspruch Stehendes bekämpft und verfolgt.

Dieser Mangel an sozialem Geist ist es nun, der dieses Christentum unfähig machte, die Pflichten zu verstehen, auf welche es gerade durch die von der Arbeiterbewegung aufgeworfenen Forderungen und Tendenzen aufmerksam hätte werden sollen, als auf Pflichten, die durchaus auch in Sinn und Geist der rechten Nachfolge seines Stifters liegen.

Und dieser Mangel, der aus dem Verhalten des offiziellen Christentums zur Arbeiterbewegung spricht, lässt einen Vertreter desselben, den ehemaligen deutschen Konsistorialrat Dr. Frank urteilen: "Die Kirche hat allezeit mehr zu den Reichen und Mächtigen geholfen."

Nicht minder bezeichnend als dieses Wort ist das andre, das ein deutscher Bischof, Henle, prägte und das in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung so viel Staub aufwarf: "Wer Knecht ist, soll Knecht bleiben."

Dieser Geist der Unterdrückung der materiellen Bestrebungen der Arbeiterbewegung um den Aufstieg ihrer Klasse hat auf dieser Seite eine ebenso starke, ja leidenschaftliche Verneinung und Zurückweisung *dieses* Christentums zur Folge gehabt. Sie gehen so weit, dass sie jede Möglichkeit einer Vereinbarung von religiöser und sozialer Bewegung ablehnen.

Die Anstrengungen der Arbeiterbewegung auf politischem

to accomplish spiritually and materially. Our Labour Movement is wanting in what Lavater, a clergyman of Zürich and contemporary of Goethe, expressed in the words: "We may quite confidently believe that Christ conceived the extreme limits of all divine and human power and truth when he said, Without Me (or apart from Me) ye can do nothing."

The Labour Movement, however, stood, and still stands, outside of this victorious power and truth. With it, and beside it also, fails official Christianity, as it presents itself in the present-day Church; pre-eminently in Germany, but also partly in Switzerland. Instead of recognising and grasping the harmony of the driving forces as they come to expression in the teaching of Christ, and are active in the Labour Movement, official Christianity has shown itself to the Labour Movement always in an attitude rather hostile than intelligent; nay, has fought and persecuted that movement as something standing directly in contradiction to religion and Christianity. Such a defect in the social spirit makes *this* Christianity incapable of understanding the duties to which its attention should have been drawn by the very demands and tendencies flung up by the Labour Movement as duties which lie entirely in the sense and spirit of a right succession to its Founder.

And this defect, which expresses the relation of official Christianity to the Labour Movement, leads a representative of the same, Dr. Francke, formerly

**The Quarrel Between Labour and Church.** German Consistorial Councillor, to emit the judgment that "the Church has always been more helpful to the rich and powerful." Not less notable than this word is the other which a German Bishop, Henle, coined, and which flung up so much dust in the German Labour Movement: "Who is slave ought to remain slave."

This spirit of suppressing the endeavour of the Labour Movement for the material elevation of its class has had as a consequence on their side just as strong and passionate a negation and rejection of *this* Christianity. They go so far as to decline any possibility of combining the religious and social movement.

The efforts of the Labour Movement on the political and



wie wirtschaftlichem Boden richten sich naturgemäss gegen die bestehende Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsordnung, die sich aber als auf eine ihrer ersten und besten Grundlagen, auf die von ihrem Sinn und Geist erfüllte Kirche, das heutige offizielle Christentum stützen.

Jeden Versuch, an diesen Grundlagen zu rütteln oder sie gar umzustürzen, betrachtet die Kirche deshalb—and mit Recht—auch als gegen sie selbst gerichtet.

Darum finden wir die kirchlichen Behörden so häufig in völliger Uebereinstimmung mit dem Kampfe der übrigen Gegner der Arbeiterbewegung.

Blind und taub für die soziale Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit, welche Ideen und Ziele der Arbeiterbewegung in sich tragen, steht ihr das offizielle Christentum heute noch gegenüber.

Auf dieses Christentum trifft ebenfalls zu, was Lavater mit den Worten sagt: "Wir kennen Jesu nur mit dem Kopfe, zuwenig mit dem Herzen. Wie wir aber gegen ihn gesinnt sind, so sind wir auch gegen andere gesinnt."

Aus der Gesinnung des Herzens aber muss die Arbeiterbewegung und das Christentum den Impuls erhalten der die Umgestaltung der wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse bewirkt, unter deren Ungerechtigkeit und Unchristlichkeit heute noch die arbeitenden, besitzlosen Klassen unerhört leiden.

Diese Gesinnung des Herzens, das Jesu erkennt, hat zu den Versuchen geführt, die eine Verbindung von Christentum und Arbeiterbewegung anbahnen wollten.

Lange Zeit war ja der Gegensatz zwischen Arbeiterbewegung und Kirche bei uns so diametral, dass es dem Arbeiter fast unbegreiflich schien, wenn er aus England z. B. erfuhr, wie hier das Verhältnis zwischen diesen beiden Mächten: Christentum und Arbeiterbewegung, ein viel freundlicheres und vor allem kein gegenseitig so schroff ablehnendes ist, wie hier vielmehr auch das offizielle Christentum, seine Vertreter, mutig sich zur Arbeiterbewegung bekennen.

Einer der ersten, der in der Schweiz als Vertreter des offiziellen Christentums zur Arbeiterbewegung stand, war mein nachmaliger Kollege in der Redaktion des "Grütlianer," des sozialdemokratischen Zentralorganes der Schweiz, Pfarrer Paul Brand, damals noch in seinem geistlichen Amte in einer bernischen Gemeinde tätig, wo seither

economic plane are naturally directed against the existing social and economic order; but this supports itself, as upon its first and best basis, upon the Church which is filled with its feeling and spirit, and that is present-day official Christianity. Every endeavour to shake this basis, or to overturn it, the Church therefore regards, and rightly, as an attack directed against itself. Consequently we find the ecclesiastical authorities so plenteously in complete accord with the campaign waged by the opponents of the Labour Movement. Blind and deaf to social truth and justice, which carry in themselves the ideas and aims of the Labour Movement—so stands official Christianity to-day.

To this sort of Christianity applies what Lavater expressed in the words, "*We know Jesus only with the head, too little with the heart.*" As, however, we are disposed towards Him, so are we also disposed towards others." But from *the disposition of the heart* must the Labour Movement and Christianity receive the impulse which effect the transformation of those economic and social relationships which, by their injustice and negation of real Christianity, inflict to-day unheard-of sufferings on the property-less working classes.

This disposition of the heart which recognises Jesus has led to certain attempts to prepare the way for a union of Christianity and the Labour Movement.

**Attempts at Mutual Approach.** For a long time Labour Movement and Church were, with us, so diametrically opposed that it seemed almost inconceivable to the working man when he heard, for example from England, how the relation between these two powers, Christianity and the Labour Movement, is a much more friendly one, and is marked by no such rigid aloofness. Rather does official Christianity in England, through its representatives, avow itself sympathetic with the Labour Movement.

One of the first to stand in Switzerland as representative of official Christianity to the Labour Movement was my former colleague in the editorship of the *Grütlianner*, the central organ of the Swiss Social Democracy, Pfarrer Paul Brandt. He was then engaged in his pastoral office in a parish

diese Art Pfarrherren roter Farbe besonders gut zu gedeihen scheinen. Einer seiner Nachfolger in christlichem und sozialistischem Geiste, nunmehriger Professor an der Kantonsschule in Zürich, J. Matthieu ist der Verfasser wohl des bedeutsamsten Werkes unter den literarischen Erscheinungen religiös-sozialer Natur, des Buches: "Christentum und soziale Krise der Gegenwart."

Mit ihm und vor allen andern zu nennen ist weiter der Züricher Theologie-Professor L. Ragaz und das von ihm gegründete religiös-soziale Literatur-Unternehmen "Neue Wege," desgleichen der durch sein Buch "Sie müssen" und seine übrigen Schriften weit bekannte Züricher Pfarrer H. Kutter.

Arbeiten diese Männer, die durch ihr Vorbild befruchtend hauptsächlich in den Kreisen der Kirche selbst wirken im Sinne einer Verbindung von Christentum und Arbeiterbewegung, so steht eine Anzahl anderer protestantischer Geistlicher direkt in der sozialdemokratischen politischen Betätigung und enger Fühlung mit der gewerkschaftlichen Bewegung der Arbeiter. So seit Jahren als einer der ersten Pfarrer Reichen in Winterthur und der durch seine kommunalpolitische und sozialpolitische Arbeit in Wort und Schrift bekannte ehemalige langjährige Pfarrer und derzeitiger Stadtrat Paul Pflüger in Zürich.

Von allen den Genannten ist zu sagen, dass sie in enger Berührung mit der Arbeiterschaft und ihren Bedürfnissen, Nöten und Sorgen der Kampfbewegung stehen und damit wohl hängt die unleugbare Tatsache zusammen, dass die Spuren ihrer Geistesrichtung sich in dieser Bewegung mehr und mehr bemerkbar machen.

Manigfache Anzeichen in der Arbeiterbewegung deuten darauf hin, dass hier die Erkenntnis immer tiefer dringt, es sei von dem bisher gepflegten Materialismus allein das Heil nicht zu erwarten, das man sich von ihm versprach.

Es geht ein Sehnen und Suchen nach einer Lösung der Arbeiterfragen durch die Massen, nach einer Lösung, welche die geistigen Lebensbedürfnisse tiefer zu erfassen und besser zu befriedigen vermag, als es auf den bisherigen Wegen möglich war. Von diesem Umschwung ist jene Vertiefung und Verinnerlichung der Arbeiterbewegung zu

in Berne, in which ever since the kind of clergymen who carry the red flag seemed to thrive extraordinarily well. One of his successors in the Christian and Socialist spirit, now Professor in the canton school at Zürich, J. Matthieu, is the author of the most important work among literary phenomena of a religious-social character—the book, namely, “Christianity and Present-Day Social Crises.” With him, and before all others, is to be named L. Ragaz, Professor of Theology at Zürich, and the *Neue Wege*, a literary enterprise founded by him as a religious and social organ. Likewise also must be mentioned H. Kutter, the Zürich clergyman, widely known through his book, *Sie Müssen*, and his other writings.

While these men are at work fruitfully following the example of Brandt, operating chiefly in ecclesiastical circles, with a view to the union of Christianity and the Labour Movement, a number of other Protestant clergymen stand directly in the political activity of the Social Democracy, and are in close sympathy with the workers’ Trade Union Movement. So have worked for years Reichen, one of the first clergymen in Winterthur, and Paul Pflueger in Zürich, who was formerly for many years a clergyman and is now municipal councillor—a man well known for his work by tongue and pen in communal and social politics.

Of all those who have been named, it has to be said that they stand in close touch with Labour and its needs, wants, and militant requirements. With this is connected the undeniable fact that the traces of their spiritual influence make themselves more and more noticeable in the movement.

Many signs in the Labour Movement point to an ever deeper recognition of the fact that not alone from the materialism hitherto cultivated is the salvation to be expected which had been promised from it. The masses are pervaded with a longing and sighing for a solution of Labour problems which is capable of more deeply comprehending and better satisfying the spiritual needs of life than was possible in the ways pursued hitherto. This change of attitude gives us hope of that inward deepening of the Labour Movement which it yet

### Swiss Pioneers.

### Spiritual Cravings of the Masses.



erhoffen, die ihr noch fehlte, was auch das Versagen der Internationale mitverschuldete.

Diese Vertiefung und Verinnerlichung wird nicht zu einer Abschwächung des Kampfes führen, den die Arbeiterbewegung um ihre ökonomische und geistige Befreiung begonnen hat. Sie wird im Gegenteil eine schärfere Betonung und Hervorhebung ihrer Forderungen zur Folge haben, welche die Arbeit auch jener Zweckbestimmung wiedergibt, die ihr schon im Buch der Bücher, in der Bibel, zgedacht und der sie heute oft in einer Weise entfremdet ist, dass sie statt zum Segen zum Fluche für Millionen von Menschen geworden ist.

Sie dient ja nicht mehr zur Befriedigung der Bedürfnisse aller Menschen, sie ist vielmehr ein Ausbeutungsobjekt zur Bereicherung weniger einzelner zum Nachteil der Arbeitenden.

Nicht der im Schweisse seines Angesichtes Arbeitende, oder jener, der den Acker bebaut, genießt die Früchte seiner Arbeit am ersten, wie Paulus in seiner Epistel an Timotheum verlangt.

Im Gegenteil, wovon schon Mose warnte: "Dem Dürftigen und Armen wird vielfach der Lohn, der gerechte Lohn noch vorenthalten."

Nicht die auf unser irdisches Leben anzuwendenden Ewigkeitswerte wirklicher christlicher Lehre beherrschen das Verhältnis des Menschen zur Arbeit, sondern die Gewinninteressen brutaler Selbstsucht.

Darum verwandelt sich die Arbeit statt zum Segen zum Fluche für so viele, die trotz aller Arbeit nicht genügend zum Leben haben und nach einem Leben voll Mühe und Plage nur die Türen des Armen- oder Krankenhauses offen sehen.

Nicht zu reden von den Zahllosen, die trotz des besten Willens zur Arbeit diese nicht bekommen können, die arbeits- und verdienstlos, brotlos nebenaus stehen müssen wegen der Anarchie, die unsere heutige Produktionsweise auszeichnet, bald Hoch-konjunktur, bald völligen Stillstand mit sich bringt. Da haben wir in Zeiten wirtschaftlicher Krisen wohl reichen Ueberfluss an Waren aller Art, bestimmt für des Leibes und Lebens notwendigen Gebrauch und auf der andern Seite Massen von Menschen, welche Mangel an diesen Bedarfsartikeln leiden, aber zu besitzlos sind, um sich von dem vorhandenen Ueberfluss kaufen zu können, was sie entbehren.

Sie haben kein anderes Kapital, kein Vermögen zur Verfügung, als die Arbeitskraft ihrer Hände und Köpfe. Das aber wird so schlecht verzinst, so schlecht bezahlt, dass sie nicht imstande sind, den Unterhalt ihrer Familien ganz



lacks, the absence of which is also responsible for failure of the International. This inward deepening will not lead to a weakening of the struggle which the Labour Movement has begun for its economic and spiritual emancipation. It will, on the contrary, make its demands more emphatic and prominent. These form the response of Labour to that destiny which is imputed to it in the Book of books, in the Bible, and from which it is to-day often estranged in such a way to make labour, instead of a blessing, a curse to millions of men.

Labour serves no longer for the satisfaction of the needs of all men. It is rather an object of exploitation for the enrichment of a few individuals at the expense of the workers.

**Labour de-Christianized.** Neither he who works in the sweat of his countenance, nor he who tills the soil, is the first to enjoy the fruits of his labour, as Paul in his Epistle to Timothy desires. On the contrary, in spite of Moses' warning, "the just wage is often still held back from the poor and needy." The relation of man to work is governed not by the actual Christian doctrine which applies to our earthly life eternal values, but by a brutal selfishness interested only in making profits. Therefore labour is changed from being a blessing to being a curse for so many who, in spite of all their labour, have not enough to live on, and after a life full of pains and suffering only see open to them the doors of the poorhouse or infirmary.

Then there are the countless numbers who, in spite of the best will for work, cannot obtain it, who must stand to one side without work or wage or food, on account of the anarchy which characterises our present-day method of production and brings with it now a boom, now complete standstill. Then we have in times of economic crisis a rich surplus of goods of every kind intended for the necessary use of body and life, and on the other side masses of men who suffer want of these very necessities, who are too poor to buy for themselves from the existing surplus what they lack. They have no other capital, no means of purchase than the working power of their hands and heads. But that is so badly paid that they are not in a position to be able quite to maintain their families, and can spare

bestreiten zu können, dass sie nichts erübrigen können für die Tage der Arbeitslosigkeit, der Krankheit, des Alters, der Invalidität.

Und wie rasch ist bei dem heutigen Arbeitssystem die menschliche Arbeitskraft erschöpft, wie riesig ist die Gefahr der Invalidität, der Arbeitsunfähigkeit durch die ungeahnte Entwicklung der technischen Arbeitsmittel angewachsen!

Die Ziffern von den Verunglückten auf den Schlachtfeldern der Arbeit, die Tatsache, dass Leute über 40 Jahre sehr häufig nicht mehr beschäftigt werden, geben deutliche Auskunft.

Die Frauen vieler Tausender von Arbeitern sind gezwungen, sich an die Seite des Mannes zu stellen, um verdienen zu helfen, weil sein Lohn zur Bestreitung der Kosten des Haushaltes nicht ausreicht. Von der Erziehungsarbeit an ihren Kindern hinweggerissen, stehen diese Frauen mitten im Strudel des Erwerbslebens in fast allen Berufsarten, als Frauen, Mütter und Arbeiterinnen von der Last der Mühen fast erdrückt.

Ihre Kinder sind vielfach schon in einem Alter sich selbst überlassen, wo sie die liebende und sorgende Hand der Mutter noch am nötigsten hätten. Die heranwachsende Jugend aber steht selbst schon wieder in den Fabriken an den seelenlosen Maschinen, und Fühlen und Denken—über den Alltag hinaus gerichtet—werden abgestumpft und ertötet, unempfindlich für das, was Inhalt und Lebenswert der Arbeit ausmachen sollte.

Das ist nicht nur so in Grosstäten, nicht nur so in den ausgesprochensten Industrieorten: diese Erscheinungen finden sich überall, wo der Kapitalismus seine Herrschaft betätigt.

Unsere kleine Schweiz macht da keine Ausnahme. Aus dem Land und Volk der Hirten zu einem Exportland ausgedehnter über Länder und Meere liefernder Industrien geworden, zeigt sie alle jene Symptome, die der modernen privatkapitalistischen Produktionsweise und Ordnung eigentümlich sind.

Jede Erschütterung auf dem Weltmarkt, für den unsere Uhren- Maschinen- Stickerei- und andere Industrien in hervorragendem Masse produzieren, teilt sich sofort unserem Volkswirtschaftsleben mit.

Arbeitslosigkeit, Ausbeutung der menschlichen Arbeitskraft, unzureichende Löhne, Wohnungsnot,—alle diese Erscheinungen konstatieren wir in der Schweiz, wie die

nothing for the days of unemployment, sickness, old age and incapacity. And how quickly, in the present labour system, is the human labour-power exhausted, how vastly has the danger grown of invalidity, of incapacity for work, through the undreamed-of development of technical machinery! Of this a clear indication is given by the figures of casualties on the battlefields of labour, and by the fact that people over forty years are very often no longer employed.

The wives of many thousands of working men are compelled to set themselves by the side of their husbands in order to help in wage-earning because his wage is not sufficient to supply the cost of maintaining the home. Torn away from the work of training their own children, these women stand in the midst of the whirlpool of industrial life, in almost all kinds of calling, and are almost crushed by their burden of toil as wives, mothers and work-women. Their children are often left to themselves at an age when they most need the loving and fostering hand of the mother. But the growing young folks soon themselves, in their turn, stand in the factories, by the soulless machines; and any feeling and thinking that goes beyond the everyday task is blunted and deadened. They become unreceptive for that which should constitute the meaning and life-value of work.

**Results of Capitalism.** This is not only so in the great works, not only so in the most pronounced seats of industry. These phenomena are everywhere found where capitalism establishes its dominion.

Our little Switzerland forms no exception. Transformed from a land and people of shepherds into a country of exports and of extended industries, delivering their goods over lands and seas, Switzerland shows all those symptoms which are peculiar to the modern methods and arrangements of production under private capitalism.

Every commotion in the world-market, for which principally our industries produce watches, machines, embroidery and other things, is communicated at once to our economic life. Unemployment, exploiting of human labour power, insufficient wages, lack of dwellings—all these

Arbeiter anderer Staaten an ihrem Orte.

Alle drückt der Schuh am gleichen Orte : ein Beweis, dass die Ursache des allgemeinen Versagens der heutigen wirtschaftlichen Ordnung der Dinge nicht in der angeblich unberechtigten Begehrlichkeit und Unzufriedenheit der Arbeiterschaft zu suchen ist, sondern in der verkehrten, unnatürlichen Zweckbestimmung, der die Arbeit heute dienen muss.

International nun, wie das Uebel selbst, muss unser Kampf um die Befreiung der Arbeit und des Arbeiters sein und erfüllt von jenem brüderlichen Geist der Nächstenliebe, der überall, wo von Arbeit und Arbeitsverhältnissen die Rede ist, gerechtes und wahres Christentum durchzieht.

Der Geist jener Zusammenfassung aller menschlichen und göttlichen Kraft, die sich offenbart in den Worten Jesu : Ohne mich (oder ausscr mir) könnt ihr nichts tun !

Die Erfüllung der Arbeiterbewegung in ihren nationalen und internationalen Organisationen, in ihren Bestrebungen und Forderungen, mit diesem Geist, wird die Arbeit und das Arbeitsverhältnis ihrer göttlichen Bestimmung wieder zuführen, sie wieder zum Segen für alle wandeln, ihre Früchte wieder die Arbeitenden zuerst geniessen lassen.

Was bisher unberührt in den tiefsten Tiefen der Arbeiterbewegung schlummerte und doch den eigentlichen innersten Antrieb zu ihren Bestrebungen und Zielen bildet, ist in seinem ursprünglichen Wesen religiöser Natur.

Es ist Geist von Christi Geist und in ihm und durch ihn wirksam. Er ist am Werke in den Strömungen, die durch die Verinnerlichung und Vertiefung der Arbeiterbewegung wie durch die Neugestaltung im Christentum, diese beiden weltumspannenden Mächte verbinden wollen zu der erheben- den sieghaften Kraft, Wahrheit und Liebe, die allein vorwärts und aufwärts führen.

phenomena we find in Switzerland, as do the workers in other States. The shoe pinches all in the same place—a proof that the cause of the universal failure of the present economic order of things is not to be sought, as it is sometimes alleged, in the unjustified greed and discontent of Labour, but in the deranged, unnatural purpose which Labour to-day must serve. Our struggle

**The Remedy.** for the emancipation of labour and of the labourer must be as international as the evil itself, and must be filled with the brotherly spirit of neighbour-love which, wherever there is talk of labour and of labour relations, runs through just and true Christianity.

The spirit of that combination of all human and divine power is revealed in the words of Jesus, "Without Me (or apart from Me) ye can do nothing." The filling of the Labour Movement with this spirit in its national and international organisations, in its efforts and demands, will again conduct Labour, and Labour relations, to their divine destiny, again transform them into blessing for all, again cause the labourer to be the first to enjoy the fruits of his toil.

What hitherto slumbered untouched in the deepest depths of the Labour Movement, and yet forms the peculiar and innermost motive for their strivings and aims is in its original essence of a religious nature. It is spirit of Christ's Spirit, and in Him and through Him operative. It is at work in the tendencies which, through the inward deepening of the Labour Movement, as through the new formation of Christianity, are resolved to bind both world-girdling forces to the elevating victorious power, truth and love, which alone lead forwards and upwards.





# FOR THE ABOLITION OF WAR

## At the Third Hague Conference.

**The Objective for the Combined Forces of Labour and Religion Throughout the World.**

Within ten days of the close of the first International Labour Week, a definite practical aim was given to the two converging movements. The 16th anniversary of the assembling of the First Hague Conference fell on the 18th of May. It was, moreover, the year in which the Third Hague Conference should have been held. The anniversary was accordingly kept at Browning Hall on Sunday afternoon, May 16th, when the question was propounded, "After this War is over, why not abolish all war at the third Hague Conference, by means of adequate sanctions (economic boycott, and, in the last resort, armed force by international police), and disarmament?"

### F. HERBERT STEAD.

The warden, F. Herbert Stead, presided, and in opening the proceedings said:—

I am reminded that the very first of the great series of meetings held throughout the length and breadth of this land in support of the Tsar's message of seventeen years ago, which led up to the First Hague Conference, was held in Browning Hall. And it is not inopportune that we should assemble in the same place for a kindred purpose this afternoon.

Some friends, with more haste than perception, have cried out, What do you mean by thinking of calling a Hague Conference in the middle of this terrific world-war? I would ask such friends to look again at the handbill which convenes this meeting, and at the first line, which reads, "After this War is over." Our purpose this afternoon is not to deal with the present war, or to suggest interruption or diversion of what seems to many of us to be its inevitable course. We look beyond the present to what inevitably must follow. For, whatever be the duration of this great world-struggle, it must come to an end some time or other. And immediately hostilities have ceased, and

peace has been arranged, then it seems to me, and to very many others with whom I have consulted on both sides of the Atlantic, the Third Hague Conference

**U.S.A. Convener.** should be summoned. I have urged from the first that the United States ought to be the convener of the Third Hague Conference, and I was very glad to learn when I was in America that it is accepted as certain in the highest diplomatic quarters that the United States will be the convener of the Third Hague Conference.

Furthermore, I have suggested that the most important statesmen belonging to all the nations should assemble at The Hague.

The Hague Conference, thus constituted and convened, should then set about a most drastic programme. It should decree the abolition of war. It should

**A Drastic Programme.** gather all the Powers into a solemn covenant to submit all disputes, without exception, that diplomacy had failed to settle, to the final decision of the Hague Tribunal. To enforce, if necessary, the decisions and awards of the Hague Tribunal, there should be, first of all, the economic boycott of any recalcitrant nation; and if that failed, only in the last resort, armed force. We have urged that for this purpose the Hague Conference should enrol an International Police, necessarily naval and military. And, after these preliminary steps had been taken, there should be decreed collective and simultaneous and obligatory disarmament of all the nations, down to the amount of force required for internal police. Disarmament, which was the hope of the Tsar in convening the First Hague Conference, would thus be the crowning achievement of the Third Hague Conference.

These are the suggestions which have led to our coming together this afternoon.

Some friends in very high places indeed have written to me suggesting that our action was much too premature. They seem to think that the prospect of a Hague

**Are we Premature?** Conference and all that we suggested was so remote that it was inadvisable to discuss the question at present. May I just point out that if anything like the suggestions that I have put forward are to be carried out, then the peoples, not of one country but

of all countries, will have to be roused, public opinion will have to be elicited, and in such overwhelming force that all the Governments of the world will be constrained to act accordingly. Can anybody conceive that between the close of the present war and the summoning of the Third Hague Conference there would be anything like time enough to organise a world-wide agitation, or to rouse the people to issue such a mandate that all the Governments would have to comply? We here know that it took us ten long years to elicit such an expression of national opinion as to secure the enactment of Old Age Pensions; and that was in one country alone. We are dealing with all the countries. Consequently, no one, I think, that has any idea of the gigantic operation that would be required can imagine that we are at all premature in suggesting what we suggest this afternoon.

There are other people who say, "You had better discuss the terms of the coming peace first, before you look ahead to the suppression of war universally." My

**Peace Terms  
First?**

answer to that is, The best way to decide on your route is to choose your terminus. The objective that we put before you this afternoon will set in their right perspective all peace terms that may be subsequently discussed, and will enable us more rightly and wisely to choose—if it be in our power to choose—the conditions of peace that must be exacted or enforced.

A very common objection, too, has been that at the present moment the minds of all of us are so preoccupied with the operations of this present war that we have neither time nor thought to spare for such a distant goal as the whole world at peace. That sounds plausible at first. But I would like to ask any friend that holds that view a simple question. If you want to get a man who is suffering from toothache to go to the dentist's, when are you most able to persuade him to undertake that formidable ordeal? Is it when he is suffering worst from toothache, or when the toothache has left him for a while? Everybody knows that it is when he is suffering from excruciating pain that he says, "I must go, and I will go!" and he finds himself in the operating

**The Goad of  
Pain.**

chair. The world is much more likely to resolve on the abolition of war just at the time when it feels the horrors of war most keenly and most deeply. Every morning's newspaper, with

its fresh tale of wounds and death, is a goad to the conscience of the nation, and of all the nations, to rise up and demand that this curse shall sooner or later cease. At a time like this, when it may be our nearest and dearest are falling in the trenches, are we not most imperiously spurred on to insist that by the collective action of the peoples of the world such awful possibilities shall be for ever banished?

One would think that even since this meeting has been arranged there had been a succession of horrors sufficient to form the very climax of all the sufferings

**Recent Horrors.** that are caused by war. And let us begin by confessing our own sins first. We all, as a nation, have rightly and indignantly denounced attacks upon unoffending non-combatants. I hope the whole nation is at one in that respect. And yet that is exactly the crime of which we have during these last few days been guilty. The rioting in London and in other parts of the Empire, this sacking and looting of shops and homes of unoffending, defenceless non-combatants, is a disgrace to the British name! It is illegal, it is un-English, it is immoral, it is inhuman, and it is manifestly anti-Christian.

Having confessed our own sin—and the catalogue is by no means complete—I think we may none the less go on to reprobate with the very strongest indignation the systematic lawlessness and barbarism which has been deliberately set in operation by the military and naval authorities of Germany, as illustrated in the use of poisonous gas, in poisoned wells, in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and in those diabolical crimes that have been attested to the world by Lord Bryce's committee of investigation. Beside his beloved ally the "unspeakable Turk," the unspeakable Prussian must now be placed in the pillory of history. These awful facts are enough, I trust, to make everyone in this audience, and everyone throughout the wide world, resolve that if it be possible, by all fair means we shall, when the right time arrives, rid the world of this frightful combination of the horrors of mediæval hell, known as modern war.

**The Chief  
Obstacle.**

Many of us think that more than words are necessary to put an end to this sort of thing. Every nation has its own appointed duty. Our nation has its own appointed duty. I



trust that no one will fail in the endeavour to overthrow and destroy that militarism which has degraded and debased modern Germany, and is in all the nations the chief obstacle to the realisation of international brotherhood.

These are the grounds, increasing every hour with our sorrow and bereavement and shame, that drive us to the conviction that now is the time to make an

**Now the  
Time!**

appeal to the conscience of mankind to adopt the methods that Providence has plainly put into our hands, and bring to an end the long disgrace of war. Our appeal is not to the people of Great Britain alone. The appeal, if it is to be of any moment whatever, must be to all the nations, to neutral and to hostile nations. For all the nations that have been engaged, and are being engaged, in war must feel the Nessus' shirt of infernal pain in which they are now enveloped. We are but a small gathering here. We have, however, with us representatives that carry with them great influence. We have letters that suggest yet wider circles of interest.

**Let all Unite.** We have the Social Democracy of Europe represented by our friend, Mr. Einar Li. We know that what we have already advanced has met with a very wide and a very encouraging welcome from friends in many lands. Our hope is that we may be able to unite all the peoples and all the Churches, and all the Parties in the one sustained demand that war shall cease. The Hague Conference is already the Providentially appointed channel, the official channel, through which the will of the

**The Power  
Behind Us.**

world can express itself and enforce itself. And therefore we may look forward with a confidence entirely disproportionate either to our numbers or to our resources. I do not hesitate to say that we should never have dared to take up this matter, or to launch this demand, had we not been given to know that we are on the right line of destiny, that behind us is the thrust of those evolutionary forces that have pushed the race onward from primitive animalism up to the height at which we now stand. It is because we believe that the enterprise to which we have put our hand has been put into our hands by the Will of the Almighty that we march forward, fearless and confident, knowing that the resources of omnipotence are behind us.



Letters were received as follows:—

**From LORD BRYCE.**

To end all war is a tremendous undertaking. But you are right to keep flying the flag of hope for the attainment of a really permanent peace, however distant that happy consummation may seem to be. Meantime we must continue to work unitedly to so finish this war as to show that the shocking methods that have been used by the German troops must be finally and immediately expunged.

**THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.**

I am heart and soul with you by every natural instinct, and by every prompting of Christian faith in the desire to "abolish war" in days to come, and I am entirely agreed that the best hope is in some way of controlling each nation by all, and in steadily maintaining that there is a common conscience and judgment which *ought to be* strong enough for such control. But we are far enough from all this to-day, and, as you agree, our first duty is to fight through.

**DR. CLIFFORD.**

I heartily congratulate you on your programme for next week, and wish I was free to share in the profit and pleasure of your gathering.

Your speakers will make a most valuable contribution to the movements in favour of the extinction of war—real democratic progress, more just industrial conditions, and the application of the principles of Christianity to the cause of a higher internationalism.

**DR. HORTON.**

I think the voice of women should be heard now: their sufferings are unspeakable. If they could only get women to speak up, all the world over, and show that the horrors in Belgium, the murders of children, the rape of ladies, the tortures of prisoners—the outcome of war as waged in the twentieth century, by the nation that has deliberately chosen war as its ideal of national greatness—have turned the scale and made plain to all thoughtful people that war must be made impossible or Europe will become uninhabitable, and life in civilisation unendurable, the result might follow. For it is woman's thought and feeling which determine the action of men.

When women loathe these results of war more than they admire the courage and heroism of soldiers, the Day of Peace will dawn.

### GEORGE CADBURY.

My sympathy—as that of every Christian and lover of his fellow men—ought to be with you in your efforts to arouse the peoples of the world, especially Labour men, to a huge effort to abolish wars.

They are the method by which the oppressor—when social reform is apparently making headway—sets it back. The Kaiser saw that the Socialists of Germany were making headway, and to prevent it he and the aristocracy of Germany entered into this war.

The money spent and lost in the present war to Great Britain alone would probably provide cottages with gardens for some twenty-five millions of the people of the country, and instead of the money being absolutely wasted, the rental of these cottages would bring in an income of some twenty-five to thirty millions a year to the State, and the gardens around them would—judging by our experience here—produce twelve times as much food per acre as when used for pasture land.

The Christian Church in all the countries involved is largely responsible for war, though every reader of the New Testament must know it is absolutely contrary to the teaching of the Christ we profess to follow.

### M. VANDERVELDE.

M. Vandervelde wishes to tell you how sorry he is not to be able to attend your meeting on Sunday afternoon, as he is leaving this morning (15th) for the Front. He sends his best wishes for the success of your campaign.

### GEORGE N. BARNES, M.P.

I hope your meeting will give a lead in a movement for arresting war lords for the future.

It may well be that this war would, in any case, so affect the moral sense of mankind as to cause war to cease thereafter. But it would be good to get the nations to secure it by some definite arrangement while they are in the mood.

That should be the work of the next Hague Conference.

## W. A. APPLETON,

The Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions:—Recent events suggest that Hague Conventions are of little value unless they are upheld by organised force. Your suggestion of armed enforcement, by International Police, of International Conventions and moral laws might be useful if personal and national individualism could be modified. I am with you in attempting to secure this, and whatever results may be obtained by economic boycott, but I believe that the best way to maintain peace is to increase the possibilities of international intercourse. Once the peoples of the earth know and appreciate each other's common origin, common needs and common hopes, they will not so readily give heed to the blatantries of those whom ambition involves in madness and war.

## MR. H. J. MAY.

Mr. H. J. May, of the International Co-operative Alliance, moved:—"That, in view of the world-wide revulsion against the horrors of war, and in view of the desire for peace cherished by the overwhelming majority of human beings, this meeting declares that the time has now arrived for lovers of peace in all nations to concentrate their efforts and focus their propaganda upon the only official means of expressing the collective will of mankind, namely, the Hague Conference, and to endeavour to elicit an expression of the will of the peoples which shall ensure the abolition of war at the Third Hague Conference, and the adoption of such means as are found necessary for the effective and permanent and universal attainment of that end."

As the representative of the International Co-operative Alliance, I should have had no difficulty in moving this resolution. But, as an Englishman and as a lover of freedom and of honour, I do not think I could have done so unless I had been assured that the action which it is proposed to take should not begin to operate until this war is over. We feel here, at all events, that we are not now, nor ever have been in this war, for aggressive purposes, but we are out now to defend our homes, our honour and our liberties.

Nevertheless, I agree with your warden that the time

is not too soon to begin to look into the future and to see how we are to re-arrange matters after the war, not only that we may secure international peace, but that we may continue the social and the Christian work in which we have hitherto been engaged. I am bound to say that, from the first day of the war until now, and never more than now, I have been possessed with an unshakable confidence that when this war is past, the future of the movements for which you and I stand will be brighter than ever. But if that is to be assured and become a reality, the rebuilding must begin now. It is not too soon. Bernstein, speaking of the principles upon which the International of the workers was founded, said they included the right to live, and the right of self-government for every people which desires to remain a nation and to develop its own life. Our special task to-day is to safeguard with all our might this idea of justice and the right of autonomy for all the peoples in the union of the nations. I have also received an address which expresses exactly the same idea on behalf of the French people. Only yesterday I had a letter from one of our colleagues, a Dutchman at The Hague, who breathes throughout his epistle the same urgent necessity for beginning at once the work of rebuilding before we have seen the end of the destruction.

A little more than eighteen months ago we had in Glasgow the greatest International Co-operative Congress which has ever been held. About twenty nations were represented; twenty-four millions of registered members were represented in that Congress. And we had the most enthusiastic and inspiring demonstration of the whole week's meetings when there was proposed by a Dutchman, seconded by a German, and supported by a Frenchman and one of our friends from Norway, a resolution in favour of international peace. We thought that the Co-operative Movement at that time had accomplished what the Hague Conference had failed to do! We even believed that we were a little bit in front of it in our organisation and method. But we are satisfied to-day to stand side by side with those who support the Hague Conference and its work.

The First Hague Conference was a magnificent one. A good many people in England think that the influence of

**First and  
Second  
Conference.**

Lord Pauncefoot was of the greatest value in that Conference, in that it brought about the beginnings of a piece of work which promised the greatest possible benefits for the future of humanity. But, unfortunately, the Second Hague Conference, while it was more fully representative of the peoples of the civilised world, failed to grasp the essentials of its purpose and to secure the inspiration of the First Hague Conference. So that while it resulted in a very large number of conventions and other agreements, nearly all of them are arrangements for war and not for peace. What we want to secure by the campaign that we are beginning to-day is that when the Third Hague Conference meets it shall be furnished with ideas and plans and proposals which will secure the objective that we have in view; that it shall be backed by the enthusiasm and the popular demand of all the peoples of the world, and shall be a real Peace Conference.

### MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN.

Mrs. Philip Snowden, in the course of her speech seconding the resolution, said:—

I do not feel quite confident that I can speak for all the womanhood of the country. But I can speak, at any rate, for the British Section of the Women's International Congress, which was held at The Hague a few days ago. The Belgian women were there, and they sat on the left hand of Miss Jane Addams, and the German delegates sat on the right hand: and the two were able to meet and shake hands and be friendly in that opportunity for the full development of which we are met here this afternoon.

I, a woman, who realise the sacredness of motherhood, and who stand on this platform for the motherhood of the world, would advocate the doing of anything and everything all the time if only to save one valuable human life. A man who had been at the Front said to a woman delegate, "The saddest thing was the cries of the wounded men and boys on the battlefield. And the German 'Mut-

**Appeal to  
Motherhood.**



ter!' sounded just as painfully in my ears as the English cry of 'Mother!'" "Mother!" That is a call to every woman in the country, if we would only realise it.

One of the resolutions passed by the Women's Conference was: "This Conference demands that the Governments

**What the Women Want.** of all the nations should come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration, or conciliation, and to bring social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms." The Conference also passed unanimously a resolution calling for a Third Hague Conference, to be held immediately after the war—the very thing for which we are calling this afternoon. They want something more in the way of machinery. They want a Hague Court of Arbitration as a working International Court of Justice, to which questions should be referred. They want further an International Conference, to be held regularly, in which women should take part, not for the discussion merely of rules of warfare, but with practical suggestions for the future international co-operation among the States. And they want a working Council of Conciliation for the settlement of international differences arising from economic changes, expanding commerce, and changes involved in political progress.

I am in hearty sympathy with the proposals to urge the holding of a Hague Conference at the earliest possible moment, because I do not believe, and never

**War Not Inevitable.** have believed, that war is inevitable. Many of our critics hold that you cannot change human nature, and that therefore war is inevitable. To say that war or any other evil of this sort is inevitable is not only the last expression of completest imbecility, but it is a positive blasphemy of the Spirit within ourselves. It is necessary that with all the strength of our being we should will peace. War has been inevitable because we have believed it to be inevitable. If we will only change our minds, it is our business to make the world anew. "All things are possible." Nothing is too difficult; nothing is impossible. It is our business to constitute ourselves missionaries to create this will-to-peace. And men and women of other nations of the world are doing this, too. Don't imagine that Germany is not doing anything.

We are saying this is a war to end war. We believe that. Our soldiers believe it. You would not have got these

**A War to  
End War.**

fine Christian young men to go out and fight in this war if they did not believe this was a war to end war. If it is, what disloyalty are we convicted of in trying to make it certain that this shall be a war to end war? They have a right to say to us at home, "You are not called upon to face the dangers of the battlefield; you are safe and sheltered in your own homes; compared with us, you are suffering very little. But you will be faithless and disloyal to us indeed if you at home do not work with all your power to create a public opinion that will make this the last war."

I want to say a word for the democratisation of foreign politics. It is not well to make it possible for a few men to involve us in a state of things like the

**Study Foreign  
Affairs!**

present. I want to see international armaments, and the firms who provoke war scares for private profits crippled. All this will help the Hague Conference that is to be to know that we have a wise public opinion in our midst. For the future, you and I and others must take more interest in foreign affairs, must realise our essential brotherhood with the nations of the world, East and West alike.

I close with the words of a woman, Mrs. Barrett Browning, who said, you will remember: "I dream of a day when an English statesman shall arise,

**What Mrs. Browning said.** having courage enough, in the face of his countrymen, to say of some suggested policy, 'This is good for your trade, it is necessary for your domination, but it will vex a people hard by, it will hurt a people farther off, it will profit nothing to the general humanity. Away with it! It is not for you or for me!' When an English statesman dares speak so—and, which is more significant, when a British public applauds him speaking thus—shall the nation be glorious, and her praise, instead of coming to her from within, from 'loud and civic mouths,' shall come to her from without, as all worthy praise must, from the alliances she has fostered and the populations she has saved."

## EINAR LI.

Mr. Einar Li, in supporting the resolution, sketched the mutual relations of Norway and Sweden for the last one hundred years, and showed how the Labour Movements in both countries had, in the end, prevented war. Even if the Labour Movement could not prevent the present war, something could be done, when we called upon the will of the people, as we now propose to do. Full independence was the safest guarantee for living upon terms of good neighbourhood with persons, families and nations. That was what we wished to be realised to a still larger extent. In controversies which diplomatists and Labour organisations could not settle, he saw no other way than to submit all disputes to an international tribunal, which, if any country should not obey, must have executive power to enforce obedience. And if it were not necessary to keep a too large international police force, we should practically arrive at disarmament. He thought the scheme quite logical, and that it could be brought into action very easily. The Norwegian Social Democracy, counting one-third of the votes cast at the last General Election, stood for unconditional disarmament, whatever the rest of the world might do. He most urgently supported the proposal of this Third Hague Conference. He also argued for disarmament because the small nations could not defend themselves. And the big nations, in order to avoid the temptation of offending each other, and the duty of defending the small ones, ought also to agree on disarmament. His last word was: "Because none of us wishes to turn on the steam of the war machine, let us blow off the steam at the Hague."

## MRS. WAREING.

Mrs. Wareing, representing the world-wide Christian Endeavour Movement, said :—We are met to call to mind that sixteen years ago the world looked out on a new horizon, and thought great things were going to happen. They did happen. A new thought was put into the minds of men. A new hope did reach the human race. But the powers of evil saw it, too. They flocked alongside with

**The One  
Beacon Light.**

the powers of good. And you know what has happened. And to-day peace is having its baptism of blood. Those of us who worked and prayed through the last Hague Conference know well that our country failed us in that hour. It is not for naught that God has laid His hands upon us in these days. I stand here as a mother. When this war broke out I, who had loved and laboured for the nations, who had sheltered boys from all the nations that were fighting, had the great grief of finding my boys in every one of these armies opposing each other. It was a great heart-break. It seemed as though it would kill some of us, even though we never had a shot fired at us. It did not seem possible to live under the weight of it. And the only beacon light left was this Hague Conference.

Some of the peoples have said, "Look at your Hague Conventions! See what they amount to!" My friends, if there is no law, there is no law to be broken and there is no criminal. It was because those Hague Conventions were in existence that to-day we see Germany as a criminal.

She would have been outside the pale if there had been no law. That Hague Conference set up a standard for the nations.

**A Prophecy.** Do you think it is going to be lowered because we have war? I tell you, Nay. This Third Hague Conference will be held. God will lead us. Those of us who toiled and wrought for the other two Conferences—and I worked side by side with Mr. W. T. Stead, not at The Hague, but in my own quiet home, where I prayed while he worked—we knew, and we know to-day, the great secret spiritual forces that are at work. We know the great Dynamic that is sending forth a mighty power, and is going to send forth more. This Hague Conference shall come into being. It shall accomplish that which God chooses. It shall deliver the world from this curse. Are we mothers for ever to bear our sons and train them that other men, when they are grown to manhood, shall slaughter them? I love England and would die for her. I would join Mrs. Snowden and Mrs. Higgs and any like them to march between those opposing armies, and let them fire on us if they like, if only the children of future mothers should be spared from such sorrow. God help us to speed forward this cause!



## C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P.

C. W. Bowerman, M.P., secretary to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, closed the speeches in support of the resolution, saying:—Say what we may, think what we may, there can be no peace and will be no peace until that brutal Prussian militarism is a thing of the past.

Most people, reasonable and unreasonable, will ask themselves, after recent events, What is the use of the Hague Conventions? What is the use of those important deliberations when we find—as we have found—that some of the most vital provisions have been deliberately set at naught by those who took part in framing them?

My own feeling is that when the time comes for the next Hague Convention, the mere fact of these provisions having been broken will engender such a feeling on the part of the nations that they will take good care not only to provide safeguards for humanity's sake, but also to see that those provisions are observed. We may take heart, even profit, by the failures of the past. Most heartily do I congratulate you upon having convened a meeting of this kind, and upon the fact that you are going forward with it. If ever there was a time, this is the time, not to work for peace, but to make sure that when peace is brought about, when the nations can see eye to eye with a little more friendliness than they can at the present time, whatever may be the result of the Third Hague Conference, every nation that appends its signature to the resolutions of that Conference shall be so placed, under such pressure—and by the method suggested by our Chairman this afternoon—that it shall of necessity carry out the provisions to which it has agreed. We shall not be satisfied, and other peoples will not be satisfied, until some means are devised whereby, as has been stated this afternoon, war in the future shall be made an impossibility. That is not beyond the power of the people of the world. If we here take our part in it, follow the lead given this afternoon, and so mould and frame a public feeling and a public opinion—then this present unholy war may be the last to cast its shadow over civilisation.

The resolution was carried with unanimity and enthusiasm.



## How to Set About the Great Task.\*

The demand for the Abolition of War was well launched at the Hague Anniversary meeting. What are we going to do about it now?

The first and most imperative duty is—Prayer. Let there be no mistake about it. Our demand is based on the conviction and assurance of Unseen Support. It

**First and Foremost.** is on the aid of forces which the man of the world ignores or derides that we, "from start to finish," depend. Through the

conduits of prayer the tide of Divine Energy will flood the world and float our cause to victory. Of all international factors within our grasp, the most potent is Prayer. The powers it generates or liberates are operative everywhere—on the field of battle, in the council chamber, in the newspaper office, and in the groundswell of public opinion. Therefore, let every reader to whom our appeal comes that war shall be no more, pray and resolve to pray "as if on that alone hung the issue of the fray."

The wills directed towards God must also be directed towards men. Manwards, prayer becomes **agitation**. For

**Agitation.** what ought to be a world-wide agitation we have no funds, no organisation, no resources.

Until the way opens, we propose to erect no cumbrous official machinery; we make no appeal for funds. We trust chiefly on the human plane to two factors. One is the inherent force of **the ideas** we present. We claim no originality in the conception of them. Out of a host of plans, they have been selected as offering the best prospect of effective acceptance. They have been submitted to a goodly number of the most diverse minds, and almost invariably they have produced the same effect. Once stated they have seemed perfectly obvious. It is to this power of the obvious that we look for victory. If only these ideas, grouped as we have grouped them, can be widely known, their equally wide adoption is certain.

But how to make them known?

There we rely on our second human factor. And that is —**friends**. The Browning Settlement is blest with many friends, in many grades, and in many lands. We look to them to set about making known our demand. Each will doubtless do this in his or her own way. We need not pile on words to persuade them to do it. The battle is with War—one of the most terrible monsters that ever preyed upon mankind and has ravaged the world from time immemorial. We are called to no child's play.

In every centre where any friends of ours are found, we want a friend to become a **Hague-worker**. A Hague-worker is a man or woman who undertakes to the extent of his available energies and means to work for the Abolition of War at the Third Hague Conference. If he is a writer, he will write about it. If he is a speaker, he will speak about it. If he is a singer, he will sing about it. "Each as on his sole head, failer or succeder, lay the blame or lit the praise," and there are ways open to all.

A leaflet is in the Press. The cash arrived just at the nick of time to enable us to print it. It sets forth very briefly what we want and why we want it. It is being influentially and representatively signed. When it is published, copies will be sent to each friend undertaking to act as Hague-worker to the number he requires for him to distribute round his circle of influence. If an official of a branch of organised Labour or of organised Religion, he can circulate the leaflet to the members of his association without appreciable cost.

If he is Hague-worker for a given town, he can do more than circulate. He can call on every one of, say, the dozen leading citizens, submit the leaflet to their notice, and ask them to sign it. Whether they sign it or not, the plan has been brought to their notice. When a sufficient number sign then, probably, by that time the Hague-worker will have found friends willing to bear the small cost of a local reprint with the leading local signatures. This reprint should then be circulated locally as widely as possible. Among the leading citizens should be a local orator who would speak about it, an influential editor who would write leaders or at least insert

letters; a minister of religion who might preach about it; a Labour leader who will win over Trade Union or Trade Council; a prominent medical man (medical men, if they like, are some of the best disseminators of news or ideas), and so on.

We want a Hague-worker in every important town in this country, in every great city in every country in the world, in every important Trade Union, in the Social

**Wanted!** Democracy of every nation, in the national and international Co-operative Movements, in the great Friendly Societies, in the Associated Chambers of Commerce, in all the great groups of Churches, in every University, in all the Conferences of Christian students, in the Christian Endeavour conventions and federations, in the societies of Art and Science and Philosophy. All these forms of fellowship are vitally interested in the suppression of organised fratricide. But obviously our great hope lies in the work to be done in the recently reconciled ranks of organised Labour and organised Religion.

In lands beyond the sea a translation of our pamphlet, or still better, a new pamphlet written independently but embodying the same programme, might be

**Over Sea.** first nationally and then locally signed, and distributed accordingly. The cost of printing and postage ought not to be an insuperable bar to the men and women in every nation who are in earnest.

It would be so desirable as practically to be imperative that every Hague-worker who can read English should take in *Fellowship*. This little journal would be a convenient means of keeping Hague-workers in touch with each other and of suggesting further steps towards our goal. Half a crown a year is surely not much to ask for this service.

This, then, is our plan of propaganda. It is simple, elastic, inexpensive. Quite possibly it may be compelled later to assume a more highly organised

**Simplicity** form. But in the meantime it is simplicity  
**Itself.** itself. We make no pretensions to being more than we are. We are simply a number of friends, small or large, scattered over areas large or small, who are doing our best to educate public opinion in the desired

direction. If there was only one Hague-worker and one centre, the work still goes on. If there are a hundred, all the better. If there are a million, better still. We are not confined to any limits; we are not compelled to expand to any limits.

**Who will volunteer as Hague-worker?** Please write to the warden, giving name and address, the centre to be permeated, and the means suggested.

Men and women who are prepared to speak on the subject will similarly communicate.

## THE LEAFLET.

**AFTER THIS WAR IS OVER\***

WHY NOT

**ABOLISH ALL WAR**

AT THE

**THIRD HAGUE CONFERENCE?**

More easily said than done? Yes. But done it must be, and not merely said. As things are going, **if we do not end war, war will end us.** Already war is seen to be little short of wholesale massacre. It is waged against non-combatants as well as combatants. It calls in chemistry to poison the air and suffocate the troops. The **destructive possibilities of modern science** are without limit. Doubtless our pathological laboratories contain cultures of deadly bacilli that, judiciously distributed, might wipe off entire nations. War, extending over ever-widening areas, waged by whole populations, and using without scruple every lethal device, threatens ere long to become something very like the **collective suicide** of the human race.

But, some will say, war always has been and therefore always will be; you cannot change human nature. Exactly

\* Please note this line.

the same thing was said about slavery. Slavery had always been and therefore would always be. Nevertheless, chattel slavery was wiped out in all civilised lands during the latter half of the nineteenth century. And war must be wiped out in the first half of the twentieth century.

But how?

Once there were religious wars. But at the end of the Thirty Years' War the nations were so disgusted with religious wars that there has been none since. A venerable American statesman has said that similarly at the end of the present war the nations will be so **disgusted with war** of all kinds that war will cease for an inconceivably long period.

But we must not trust to mere feelings of revulsion, however deep and strong they may be. We must stiffen feeling into purpose, and harden it by collective decree. Another great American statesman hopes that at the Third Hague Conference all the Powers will bind themselves by a solemn **agreement to submit all disputes**, without exception, which diplomacy has failed to settle, to the final decision of the Hague Tribunal. He thinks that after this war the moral pressure behind such an agreement would be sufficient to enforce its observance.

But will moral force alone be sufficient? Do not men say, **What is the use of Hague Conferences?** Have not their conventions been torn to shreds? They have: but only because there was not sufficient power behind them to enforce compliance. If we wish to make sure of the abolition of war, we must provide for the adequate enforcement of the decisions of the one official organ of the united Governments of the world.

How can this be done? By the same method by which war has been eliminated from most countries—by **investing the Central Executive with force sufficient** to compel obedience. The central power is now represented by the Hague Conference and Courts. It must similarly be provided with force sufficient to bring any disobedient nation to reason. It might well be invested with the power of proclaiming and enforcing an **economic boycott** against any offending country: suspending all communications by trade or by post, by land or by sea. In nine hundred cases out of a thousand, the mere threat of such a boycott would be effective. In ninety-nine



out of the remaining hundred its application would be enough. But there is the thousandth case, in which a Power might still defy the economic excommunication of mankind and persist in lawlessness. Then **armed force** would be necessary. This could best be applied by an **international police**, naval and military, enrolled by, and at the disposal of, the permanent executive of the Hague Conference.

After enrolling this police force, the Hague Conference would then be in a position to decree **simultaneous and obligatory disarmament** of every nation down to the amount of force needed for purposes of internal police.

It might well at the same time abolish the production of weapons and engines of war by private firms, and might restrict the output of all warlike material to national or international arsenals or dockyards.

For these and many other reasons, men and women in **all parties, churches, nations**, are urged to bring such pressure to bear upon their respective Governments as to ensure that steps like the following be taken to secure the abolition of war :

That as soon as this war is ended the **Third Hague Conference** should be convened;

That the **United States** should be the **convener** (this is now agreed);

That the **strongest statesmen** in every nation should be sent as delegates;

That the Hague Conference should **decree that war shall** henceforth **cease**;

Bind all Powers in solemn **agreement to submit all disputes**, without exception, otherwise unsettled, to the arbitrament of the Hague Tribunal;

Affix the penalty of **economic boycott** to any refractory Power, with coercion by armed force as the last resort;

Enrol an **International Police**, Naval and Military;

Decree the **disarmament** of all the nations, leaving only force enough in each for purely police purposes.

By these means war can follow slavery, torture, cannibalism, into the abyss of the past.

It is not business, it is not sanity, to continue the old order of competitive armaments and continual suspicion with volcanic outbursts on the largest scale of hatred, cruelty and murder.

War is out of date. Our industry cannot stand it, our commerce cannot stand it, our laws cannot stand it, our morals cannot stand it. Least of all can it be tolerated by the Christian conscience of mankind.

Away with it !

**It is the will of God that war shall cease.**

*(Signed)*

**C. W. Bowerman,**

M.P., Secretary to Trades Union Congress.

**Thos. Burt,**

M.P., P.C., Father of the House of Commons.

**George Cadbury,**

Bournville.

**John Clifford,**

D.D., of Westbourne Park Church.

**Henry J. May,**

International Co-operative Alliance.

**Albert Mansbridge,**

Secretary, Workers' Educational Association.

**F. B. Meyer,**

Secretary National Council Evangelical Free Churches.

**J. L. Paton,**

Head Master, Manchester Grammar School.

**Geo. H. Roberts,**

M.P., Lord Commissioner of the Treasury.

**Frederick Rogers,**

Organising Secretary, National Pensions Committee.

**W. B. Selbie,**

D.D., Principal of Mansfield College.

**William Temple,**

Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, President W.E.A.

**Jean Wareing,**

Christian Endeavour Movement.

**F. Herbert Stead,**

Warden of Browning Settlement.

The last-named will be glad to receive, at 29, Grosvenor Park, London, S.E.,

Further signatures to this leaflet;

Offer from any friend to act as Hague-worker, for the distribution of the Leaflet and for the advocacy of its proposals; and

Orders with cash for copies of the Leaflet at 5/- per thousand.

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The foregoing demand was put forward at Browning Hall on May 16th, 1915, two days before the sixteenth anniversary of the First Hague Conference. The resolution for the abolition of war at the Third Hague Conference was backed by **Mr. H. J. May** (International Co-operative Alliance), **Mrs. Philip Snowden**, **Mr. Einar Li** (Norway), **Mrs. Wareing** (Rochdale), and **C. W. Bowerman, M.P.**

**Lord Bryce** wrote : " To end all war is a tremendous undertaking. But you are right to keep flying the flag of hope for the attainment, at last, of a really permanent peace."

The **Bishop of Winchester** wrote : " I am heart and soul with you in the desire to ' abolish war ' in days to come, and I am entirely agreed that the best hope is in some way of controlling each nation by all."

Letters in support came also from **G. N. Barnes, M.P.**, **A. G. C. Harvey, M.P.**, **W. A. Appleton**, **Geo. Cadbury**, and **Revs Dr. Clifford** and **Dr. Horton**.



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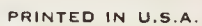
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